

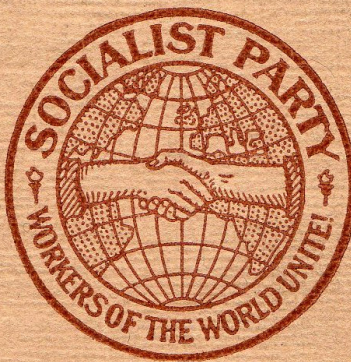
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PROCEEDINGS

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NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE

SOCIALIST
PARTY



1912

NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE
SOCIALIST PARTY

HELD AT

Indianapolis, Ind., May 12 to 18, 1912

STENOGRAPHIC REPORT BY

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Published by

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

JOHN M. WORK, National Secretary

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

National Convention of the Socialist Party

Held at Indianapolis, Indiana, Beginning Sunday, May 12, 1912
and Ending Saturday, May 18, 1912

FIRST DAY'S SESSION.

The National Convention of the Socialist Party of America, was called to order by National Secretary John M. Work at Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, Ind., Sunday, May 12, 1912, at 10 o'clock A. M.

The roll was called by Delegate Stibel of New York, and showed the following named delegates and alternates to be present:

ALABAMA—G. L. Cox.

ARIZONA—Erma Hyatt Allen, E. Johnston.

ARKANSAS—da Gallery, Dan Hogan, J. A. C. Mene, A. R. Finks.

CALIFORNIA—A. E. Briggs, Edw. Adams Cantrell, Geo. W. Downing, Mary E. Garbutt, Job Harriman, E. H. Mizner, R. A. Maynard, A. W. Harris, Ernest L. Regan, N. A. Richardson, H. C. Truck, J. W. Wells, Fred C. Wheeler, Ethel Whitehead, Jnos. W. Williams, J. Stitt Wilson, Frank E. Wolfe, C. K. Bronner.

COLORADO—W. F. Collins, A. H. Fioaten, Mary L. Getts, Thomas M. Todd, John Tyroell.

CONNECTICUT—Sam E. Beardsley (at large), Ernest Berger, Edward Perkins, Clarke, Chas. T. Feach, Jasper McLevy.

DELAWARE—Frank McLevy.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—W. J. Ghent.

FLORIDA—J. S. Alexander, C. C. Allen, Fred Stanley.

GEORGIA—Max Wilk.

IDaho—W. Belmont, Thos. J. Coonrod, Sidney Nois, Isaac Franklin Stewart, ILINOIS—J. O. Bentall, Bernard Berlyn, Joseph R. Burge, John C. Sjoden, Louis F. Haemer, John C. Kennedy, Marshall E. Kirkpatrick, George Koop, James F. L. Jensen, Caroline A. Lowe, F. J. Maxwell, Mary O'Reilly, W. E. Rodriguez, Seymour Steidman, George North Taylor, Guy Underwood.

INDIANA—Samuel S. Condo, W. W. Farmer, Janet Fenimore, Stephen C. Garfison, William H. Henry, James Oneal, S. M. Reynolds, William Sheffer, Florence Wattles.

IOWA—Margaret D. Brown, John Jacobson, Lee W. Lang, Irving S. McCall.

KANSAS—Oscar H. Blase, A. W. Rick, L. F. Fuller, May Wood, S. M. Steward, Ben Franklin, Vilson, S. M. Steward, Kentucky—Charles Dobbs, Walter Lanier.

LOUISIANA—J. R. Jones.

MAINE—Geo. Allen England.

MARYLAND—Chas. E. Backman, Dr. Robert C. W. Straub.

MASSACHUSETTS—James F. Carr, Alex. Coleman, Charles E. Fenner, J. Coldwell, Robert Lawrence, Patrick Mahoney, Rose Tenner, George E. Roewer, Dan A. White.

MICHIGAN—Frank Aaltonen, Jas. H. Fechyde, Guy H. Lockwood, Hamilton McKister, Etta Menton, J. A. C. Menton, Jas. H. McFarland.

MINNESOTA—Marletta E. Fourni, John H. Grant, Neils S. Hillman, J. S. J. Galls, Olaus Jacobson, Morris Kaplan, Thomas Edwin Latimer, J. G. Maatta, David Morgan, Jay E. Nash, A. O. Devco, O. S. Watkins.

MISSISSIPPI—M. E. Fritz.

MISSOURI—Ernest Theo. Behrens, W. Lincoln Garver, Caleb Lipscomb, Geo. W. O'Dann, Otto Viething, W. A. Ward.

MONTANA—Lewis J. Duncan, Charles A. Smith, Jacob M. Kruse, James B. Scott, Philip H. Christian.

NEBRASKA—Fred J. Warren, Clyde Wright.

NEVADA—Grant Miller.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—John P. Bur.

NEW JERSEY—Henry C. Gless, Christopher E. Koffrook, George H. Goppel, W. son E. Killingsack, Harry F. Kopp, Frank Kradt, James M. Kelly, Gust Theinert.



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NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

Rules 5 and 6 were read and adopted without objection.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wls.): A point of information. Is this a party press committee or the press committee for the convention?

THE CHAIRMAN: A publicly committed fee for the convention, as we understood it.

DEL. GAYLORD: Not a committee on party press?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not on party press. I move to amend the title of the Committee on Municipal Program, substituting therefor "State and Municipal Program."

DEL. GAYLORD: The amendment was seconded and was then accepted by Del. Berger on behalf of the National Executive Committee and agreed to.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I move to amend the rules by adding a committee of five to bring in a report on the question of the party press. (Seconded.)

DEL. SLODODIN (N. Y.): Does that list constitute all the committees?

THE CHAIRMAN: The appointment of 14 committees named in the rules does not include special committees that the convention may select from time to time later.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I move that we eliminate the Committee on Contested Seats.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not know whether there are any contests. Comrades, will you inform us whether there are any contests of delegates?

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): No contests.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): At the time we prepared the report we did not know whether there would be any contests or not. I am glad that the party is so harmonious.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I observe that in the rule provides for extra or additional committees as there is the modification that that not more than one delegate shall vote from the same state. I ask, does that apply to the previous committees or the subsequent committees?

THE CHAIRMAN: It applies to both.

DEL. BERGER: It applies to all the pending committees.

DEL. BERGER: The 14 committees provided in this report, we may have special rule would not apply.

DEL. GAYLORD: A point of order. I do not know that it matters, but isn't the committee on Contested Seats a constitutional committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is. Therefore, this committee intended the election of a committee in this time, describing the number and method of election to provide that cases where there are contests, it is not made just for this convention, but for all conventions. Where there are no contests the constitution does not intend to have a committee.

DEL. KEAHEY (N. J.): I move that all committees consist of 5, so that the constitution is better represented on the committees.

THE CHAIRMAN: Motion out of order, order for the number of members of the committee.

DEL. COSGROVE (N. J.): As I understand your ruling—I may be mistaken—

you are dispensing with the Committee on Contested Seats?

THE CHAIRMAN: There is such an amendment before the house.

DEL. COSGROVE: Well, is it not a fact here yet, and if you dispense with the committee it eliminates a contesting of delegates that might arise?

THE CHAIRMAN: If there should be such an occasion this convention will always have a right, under the constitution, to elect such a committee.

DEL. WHEELER of Texas inquired as to the last committee read by the clerk.

THE SECRETARY: A committee on State and Municipal Program of seven members. He accepted that.

DEL. BERGER: Yes, I accept that.

DEL. SECRETARY: It now reads "State and Municipal."

DEL. OWEN (Okla.): I want to find out what disposition was made of the motion to appoint a Committee on Party Press.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is pending, because the convention and will be voted on as soon as we reach it.

DEL. OWEN: I want to move to amend that motion by changing the number of members of the committee from 5 to 9.

THE CHAIRMAN: What committee are you referring to?

DEL. OWEN: Committee on Party Press, from 5 to 9.

THE CHAIRMAN: From 5 to 9, a Committee on Party Press.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I desire to state this. That I believe that the Committee on Contested Seats ought to be elected, and it ought to be elected at once, just as reason: That though there may not be any contests between duplicate delegates, there may be some contests as to the seating of alternates.

DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.): A point of order. The comrade seems to be discussing something that has already been disposed of.

DEL. DUNCAN: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before the house is the size of the Party Press committee.

DEL. CHAIRMAN: No, the entire rule has been taken on it or on the amendment.

DEL. WILSON: May point is this: Any delegate arriving here who is or might be contested ought to have an immediate hearing before such a committee and have a chance to be seated in the convention and not have to delay until we come back will be left in the original form.

DEL. LOCKWOOD (Mich.): Comrades, it is going to be very evident to all of us these committees and different amendments we are going to get mixed up, and I think it would be very advisable to separate these lists of committees and vote on each one separately. Otherwise we won't know what we are voting for. We can do that and dispose of both lists without any contest at all. I move to that effect. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that we proceed to vote upon each of the proposed committees separately, as far as the committees provided by the constitution are concerned the motion is out of

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order. As far as the few additional suggested committees are concerned it may be entertained.

DEL. COSGROVE (N. J.): I move that the committee not named by the constitution shall be taken up separately. (Seconded.)

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): What are we going to vote on?

THE CHAIRMAN: On all the amendments before us.

DEL. GOEBEL: The amendments ought to be taken up separately. I am interested in them.

THE CHAIRMAN: What we have before us is the proposed rule submitted by the Committee on Rules, to which the amendments are as follows and will be voted on in the order stated: First, that as to the committees not named in the constitution we proceed to vote on each one separately. Then there is an amendment to the effect that we dispense with the Committee on Contested Seats. Then another amendment that we also elect a Committee on Party Press, of five members, and an amendment to that amendment that such committee consist of nine.

We now proceed to the first amendment, that we take up separately the committees other than those mentioned in the constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment we are now going to vote on is the amendment to dispense with the Committee on Contested Seats.

The question was put and the amendment was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now proceed to the amendment that we elect a Committee on Party Press, to consist of five and amended to consist of nine. We will divide the motion.

DEL. BERLYN accepted the amendment to increase the committee.

DEL. CHAIRMAN: The amendment is accepted. The mover of the motion, does the amendment before you, then, is the one that we elect a Committee on Party Press to consist of nine members. All in favor, say "aye."

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): I want to speak on the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not while we are voting. You are too late.

DEL. GOEBEL claimed the floor, on the ground that there had been no opportunity for debate on the motion.

The chairman ruled that Del. Goebel was not entitled to the floor.

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.) appealed from the decision of the chair, and the appeal was sustained.

DEL. GOEBEL: I want to say, in justice to myself, that I should not have appealed from the decision of the chair, even though I thought it was unjust. I do not intend to appeal from this decision of the chair at any time during this convention, even though I do not like the decision. But I do feel that this matter ought to be discussed. We are providing for the appointment of a separate committee to do a certain thing. We have a clause in our national constitution which provides that we shall not give covered right in this motion in itself or in any party paper. This clause in the constitution. If this committee brings a report it must go again to the party before us. Let it go there where it properly belongs. Let it go there to the committee where it belongs, the Committee on Constitution. Therefore, I

DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): It seems to me that the fact that we elect or appoint a Committee on Party Press does not mean that the committee so elected must, concerning its functions to considering the subject of the party ownership of the press. It may or may not consider the subject. This creation of a Committee on Party Press makes us to have the whole subject of the methods devised for improving its efficiency. Few matters of greater importance to our organization will come before us. I therefore urge the comrades to adopt the resolution to create this committee.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wls.): I trust the discussion made by Comrade Spargo may be come clear. If it has not already done so, between a party press and a party-owned press. A Committee on Party Press might discuss and report recommendations concerning party ownership of the press, or it might not. The question of the party papers is a big one and interests us all. We are looking for information. I am in favor of the committee.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I want the delegates to vote on this motion intelligently. I do not speak of, nor do I have any intention of dealing with the party-owned press. We have a party press which we recognize in our National Bulletin. The relations of that press to the party are very important ones to take into consideration. There are many things in connection with a movement like ours which are different from any others. This is not a haphazard movement. This is an intelligent, organized movement, and we want to give it the most intelligent expression. And the question of the relations of the party to the party press to its principles, press to the party, the resolutions and platform to maintain are to adopt in the convention—these things and many other things—have something to do with this convention, and the comrades throughout the country are looking for us to do something different from a question of a party-owned press. But if the question party comes up it must come up in a different form from the intention of this resolution. I just wanted to make myself plain.

DEL. Solomon (N. Y.) moved the previous question. Carried.

The amendment to elect a committee of nine on party press was then carried, and the rule as amended was adopted.

Rule 8 was then read by the Secretary, on the subject of time allowed speakers.

DEL. TUCK (Cal.): I move as an amendment that five minutes be substituted for ten minutes. (Seconded.)

DEL. COSGROVE: A point of order. A motion was made to act on these rules separately. You are now going on to another altogether.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point of order is well taken. We will now refer back to the previous paragraph and read the committee separately.

The Secretary read, under rule 7, "A convention press committee of five members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection to such a committee? I would call it a Publicity Committee. In order to avoid misunderstanding.

THE CHAIRMAN: Publicity Committee it is called. Any objection to Publicity Committee?

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DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I move to strike out "press" and insert "publicity."

THE CHAIRMAN: That has been done by request of the committee. No objection to this committee? None.

The Secretary read the next item, "Auditing Committee of five members."

DEL. GAYLORD: To go to Chicago and audit the party accounts everything?

THE CHAIRMAN: No objection. Proceed to the next committee.

The Secretary read the next item, "Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations of Seven Members."

DEL. GAYLORD: Any objection?

THE CHAIRMAN: It seems to me this is a matter which also will come before the committee on Constitution and organization. The activities of the foreign-speaking organizations are something that they concern themselves with. The will do that; they will do it, anyway. I will go into the Constitution Committee's activities. (Seconded.)

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): We have in the present national constitution different provisions covering foreign-speaking organizations. But this question cannot be settled by a mere provision in the constitution. It requires a special committee, foreign-speaking organizations and their relations to this organization. If you want to deal with the question locally you must have a committee on the subject.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): This subject was up before the congress two years ago, and Com. Gaylord remembers. I myself, when this question of the organization of foreign comrades came up we were obliged to confer with the foreign comrades to get some intelligent understanding of the Constitution Committee and its duties. I think that the representation of themselves in large numbers in our committee should be placed upon such a report, or assisting, if necessary, in the committee on Constitution. But, at any rate, I think that distinct committees should be organized for this particular purpose.

DEL. GAYLORD: I withdraw my motion.

DEL. SADLER (Wash.): I move to amend that we increase that Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations from seven to nine. (Seconded.)

DEL. BERGER: We accept the amendment.

DEL. PANKIN (N. Y.): I represent a foreign language organization. May I suggest to the convention that it would be a wise thing to have on the committee on the relations of the foreign-speaking groups, some delegates representing foreign groups?

DEL. MOORE (Pa.): I move that an auxiliary committee of three from the foreign branches be appointed.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is out of order. The representatives of the foreign-speaking organizations are here with the right to a voice only. It has been customary at the past conventions to have

our Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations confer and co-operate with the delegates of these foreign-speaking organizations, and I have no doubt the proceeding will be followed this time. On motion of Del. Strebel the previous question was ordered.

The question was then put on the motion that a committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations to consist of nine members be elected, and the motion was carried.

The Secretary read the next item, "Relations of Labor Organizations and the Relations of the Party to Labor Organizations of seven members."

DEL. JACOBSEN (Iowa): I move to amend by increasing the Committee on Labor Organizations from seven to nine. (Seconded.)

DEL. BERGER: I accept this for the committee. My experience in these conventions, covering a long, long period, is that the smaller the committee, the better it works. However, there is very little difference between seven and nine, and I accept the amendment.

DEL. BYRD (Tex.): I cannot see that it is essential to increase that committee from seven to nine, and I think we should vote it down.

The question was then put on the election of a committee of nine on Labor Organizations, and it was carried.

The Secretary read the next item, "Committee on Co-operation, of seven members."

DEL. SADLER (Wash.): What is the function of this committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: The function of this committee is to consider the co-operative movement and to report to this convention on the character and importance of the movement and the proper relations of the active movement. Any further discussion? (Seconded.)

DEL. BERGER: And also to make suggestions to this convention how to assist the co-operative movement. The Socialist movement in order to be successful, must not only help the trade union movement or rather the economic struggle, but must also back up the co-operative movement. That is another part of the co-operative commonwealth that we cannot neglect.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will bring in recommendations on that point that the title of the committee be amended, as it were.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I would suggest that the title of the committee be amended, as it were.

THE CHAIRMAN: To wit, namely—

DEL. HOGAN: By describing the character of co-operation which it shall consider.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your amendment, Com. Hogan?

DEL. HOGAN: Co-operative manufacturing.

DEL. BERGER: No, I object.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that your amendment, Com. Hogan?

DEL. HOGAN: No, it is not my amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well. Any further discussion? Any objection to the appointment of that committee?

DEL. HOGAN: I simply wanted to suggest to the committee that I thought that ought to be done.

THE CHAIRMAN: The comrades will take the suggestion. Any objection to the appointment of this committee?

No objection was heard, and the rule was adopted.

The Secretary read the next item, "A Committee on State and Municipal Problems, of seven members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection to the election of a Committee on State and Municipal Problems?

DEL. KRAFFT (N. J.): Moved that the committee be enlarged to nine.

DEL. BERGER accepted the amendment on behalf of the committee.

DEL. SMITH (Calif.): I want to know if this committee is to consider the question known as commission form of government.

DEL. BERGER: Yes.

There being no objection, the rule was adopted.

DEL. FREEMER (N. J.): I would like to know whether there is a Committee on Immigration provided for?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Immigration was elected by the last party congress and will report at this convention.

Rule 8 was read by the Secretary a second time.

DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.): I move to amend that no delegate shall speak twice unless by unanimous vote of his delegation.

THE CHAIRMAN: That would be unnecessary. By unanimous vote this delegation can do anything without motion.

DEL. TUCK (Cal.): I rise to reply my motion to strike out "ten minutes" and substitute "five minutes."

DEL. BERGER: Com. Freeman and comrades, I am accustomed of being limited to a five-minute rule. The average man can say a great deal in five minutes, but the average Socialist agitator cannot, and there are a good many men and women here who only have a chance once in four years, and at best in two years, to tell us what happened in the state of Washington or proposed to make it ten minutes. I will be very glad to accept the five-minute rule, however. If it meets the wishes of this convention, five minutes are plenty far as I am concerned. I am simply wanted to give some of my comrades a fair chance.

DEL. SADLER (Wash.): I speak against the amendment for five minutes; not in behalf of the Socialist agitator, but in behalf of the comrades in this convention who must have a little time in which to voice their thoughts.

DEL. RAMP (Ore.): I want to accept the amendment. I think the amendment is to good but I want to offer an amendment to the amendment, that a delegate amend even the privilege of speaking a second time upon a motion, with the consent of this organization. (Seconded.)

DEL. LANFERSIDE (Ky.): I want to suggest to the delegates that it is costing the men and women here at least five dollars for every minute, and if you cannot express your sentiments (applause) in five minutes, then sit down. (Applause.)

DEL. RINGLER (Pa.): I am in favor of the five-minute amendment, but I know that absolutely a week was the rule heretofore, adoption of the ten-minute rule heretofore, amendment to the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is one before the house.

DEL. LEWIS: I have another amendment to it.

THE CHAIRMAN: A substitute for the whole? That no delegate in any one of the

delegations shall speak twice until some delegate in all the other delegations shall have had an opportunity. (Seconded.)

On motion of Del. Solomon of New York, the previous question was ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, comrades, there is no rule yet to allow anybody to speak after the previous question is put of the motion or chairman of the previous question is put, by analogy, it is objection is made. Com. Berger will have the floor.

DEL. BERGER: I desire to save time the amendments in order to save time the five-minute rule I also accept for the committee. I believe that if anyone has anything worth additional five minutes at any time, (applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There are two questions before the house, whether it shall be five minutes or ten minutes. There are also two amendments, and a substitute for the five minutes. One amendment was to "insert" five minutes. Instead of "ten minutes" the other amendment was that no delegate be recognized if any other delegate from his state has been recognized.

DEL. REILLY: Here are the amendments. The Tuck amendment provides for five minutes. Then there is the amendment by Del. Ramp of Oregon, that a delegate can be given the floor the second time only by a vote of this body.

THE CHAIRMAN: By a majority vote.

DEL. REILLY: A majority vote, of course.

DEL. SPARGO: I rise to a point of information. I desire to know whether it will be your ruling that the vote we are to take now will decide the entire matter?

THE CHAIRMAN: This will decide the entire rule; the amendment being discussed of first, and the entire rule amended next.

DEL. SPARGO: Then I desire to be heard in opposition to the substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: It cannot be done. The previous question has been put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are before the house one substitute, two amendments and the original motion or rule. The substitute is to the effect that no delegate be recognized if any member of his delegation has been recognized on the question while there remain states which have not been heard from on the subject, and as to the amendment is that the minutes unless delegate be limited to five minutes unless extended by a majority vote.

DEL. BERGER: The rule is that it is ten minutes instead of ten. The rule is that the time limit be ten minutes except for the chairman of the committee, majority at chairman reports of committees, who shall have twenty minutes and also after that previous question has been called each side to the question shall have one speaker with five minutes then put on the substitute was defeated.

The question was then put on the amendment, and the vote being 54 for and 153 against.

The motion was then put on the amendment to the minutes, limiting speakers to five minutes unless the time show be extended by majority vote, and the motion was unanimously carried.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): A point of order. I would like to know if that was

delegates in a delegation from a particular state and six of them are in harmony, the chairman gets up and announces nine votes for the particular view for which the majority stands, and six have disfranchised the three, and the delegates to speak for themselves. And I rest my position on this. We want have the absolute right to determine this vote exactly what terms we will accept the state exactly what terms we will

THE CHAIRMAN: In summing up—

It is not the question, "If in my state an attempt had been made to pass the delegation by the unit rule, I should vote against it," but I say that the National Convention of this party has no power to override a decision of the state in introducing the unit rule, had as it were. That is all there is to it. The vote comes now upon the appeal. The vote comes shall the decision of the question be sustained. Those in favor of the question is decided of this in favor of sustaining the decision. Those opposed to sustaining the chair is "No." The chair will say "Aye."

THE CHAIRMAN: The ruling of the motion is now in order and he has the floor.

DEL. DAN WHITE (Mass.): I thought I was voting on the opposite side of the question.

DEL. BERGER: Count me on the nay.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any others who voted under a misapprehension? There was a minority of fifty against the chair, and one or two votes won't affect the result. Comrade Goebel.

DEL. GOEBEL: I desire to have added the following words: "The vote shall be cast."

Chairman Hillquit called the convention to order at 2:30 p. m.

There may be more offered. When we have

DEL. EDWARDS (Tex.): I move to amend that by adding: "Providing, that where an instruction has been given by the referendum on any particular question the instruction of that particular question shall be obeyed." **THE CHAIRMAN:** The amendment is in order. The amendment is being put to a vote. There are no dissenting instructions. There should have been one.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is all. I believe it is necessary that we have an amendment of this kind. On the other hand I am not in favor of the amendment offered by the delegate from Texas. That would trade Hilguit right idea back where

MR. BERGER: We have just voted on it in through, and now you want to go back through the back door. I hope the convention will reject the amendment and accept the amendment offered by Comrade Goebel of Jersey.

ed by Comrade Goebel (III): The amendment is in a Socialist organization. I am not today representing the state of Barney Berlyn's views, but I am in a representative capacity: I am in a delegated capacity: I am in a state chooses capacity in any

We are here in a delegate convention; this is not a Republican convention. This is a Socialist convention; or if I could not do that I refuse to act for them. Now let us invent a convention. This is not a Republican convention; this is not a Socialist convention. This is a delegate convention.

constituency. If our constituents and social subject have instructed us it is a member of that delegation follows functions of his state in his delegation. If not, if he violates those laws, when he goes home he should return from the party.

CHAIRMAN: The rules having been so far as the time fixed for our hour of adjournment has moved, and the convention stands adjourned until a

passed upon the rules we shall have to elect our permanent officers. Then have

Now, comrades, if we dispose of

Rule 12 is now before you. The secretary will read Rule 12; and then the amendment and then the amendment to the amendment.

Speaking to that I wish to say that I am heartily in favor of the motion of Comrade Goebel which will prevent tying up a delegation by the unit rule where the delegation is divided. But where a statute has expressed by referendum its opinion on a particular question I believe that if a delegates unwilling to abide by the de-

THE SECRETARY: "Provided that

DEL. HARRIMAN (Cal.): This entire question has arisen over instructions give by the state of California. I presume therefore it is our duty to inform the delegates the instructions on that particular question shall be obeyed."

here of the facts. The facts are that our state secretary wrote a resolution upon matters of general policy, generally consistent with the policy adopted in the state of California. This proposition, all of in fact, would be looked upon favorably by the membership of that state. After having mentioned his resolution he sent it to

ing. Withen his assistance, Local Vista and had it initiated and passed through the state without submitting it to the State Committee. We were therefore instructed on all the propositions contained in the resolutions prepared by the secretary, and at the close of the general instructions this instruction was given, and the convention proceeded to the convention.

"And be it further resolved that the foregoing shall be and constitute instructions to the membership of California acting upon:

tion." The National Convention to be held May 12, 1912; that all questions said delegation shall vote as a unit, and that on all matters where instructed a majority vote of the delegation shall determine the attitude of the delegation."

Now that is what we are up against, and that is what you people are acting upon. And that is the source of the resolution.

DEL. MERRICK: It seems to me to be a resolution.

I say, comrades, that we should stand by the line of the American people, and not let ourselves be misled by the tactics of the bourgeoisie. We should not let ourselves be misled by the tactics of the bourgeoisie. We should not let ourselves be misled by the tactics of the bourgeoisie.

principles it is an unfair proposition in any circumstances given on any conceivable party; but the Socialist Party shall satisfy whether any unsocialistic practice shall prevail in this National Convention of the party; and whether any state delegation shall be allowed to proceed in a way that shall be in violation of fundamental socialist principles.

I think it is an unfair proposition to say that if a state has instructed its delegates on any important question that it has also the right and power to say it has also the delegates at the convention who are something of importance suddenly arise which they cannot know about except a delegates at the convention, that the delegates at the convention shall have

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.). I think it should be a Socialist organization.

be made possible where a delegation has been instructed on a particular subject for the chairman of the delegation to cast the entire vote of that delegation, no matter how the individual delegates may feel about the matter. That is not the business of this National convention. And so far as the delegates carrying out their instructions are concerned, they will give

structions from their state on any proposition, if any delegate who has been instructed on any such proposition here instructed on the instructions of his state disregards the instructions to settle it is for the state organization to settle here. If when he has been selected

by a state as a delegate to this convention representing that state he has been given instructions how the state wishes him to vote on a particular question he should follow those instructions; and if he does not he should be dealt with by his state. But the delegates can not by any means pass a unit

whereby a chairman of a delegation would cast a solid vote of the delegates from

particular state irrespective of the wishes of the individual delegates.

I believe the proposition by Goebel was absolutely superfluous. At no time was the purpose to have the chairman of the delegation cast the entire vote of the delegation regardless of the wishes of the individual delegates. On the other hand the proposition of the gentleman from Texas would make it possible for a caucus for the majority to claim that there was an understanding in the state for the delegates to vote one way, or the other, and then for state to claim the entire vote of the delegation and cast the vote accordingly.

DEL. COLLINS (Colo.): I do not believe there is anybody who sticks more for the democratic control of the party than I do. But I want to say that if any state—any state or any to say that if any state—any and then to cast their vote in a certain way, the majority and not the will of the majority that is being violated. If the majority of the members of the party in a state decide that I shall cast my vote in a certain way, and as a whole, why that is the instruction of the majority of the party. If it came from some subdivision of the party in that state without a referendum, when it comes to a certain thing. But to have state autonomy if you are to stand back of the vote at all then you let them decide whether they wish their delegates at this convention to cast their votes as one unit. If they have more faith in the opinion of a majority of their delegation than they have in the individual delegates, that is their right. If they wish the majority of the state delegation to rule the delegation it is their right so to instruct the delegation.

DEL. ZITTI (Ill.): I believe that the Socialists still have the right to run it. This is a question of procedure and as a convenience of this convention and as a possibility to the will of the constitution of a certain delegation, I think it will be well for the convention to subject its convenience to that will by tabling this whole matter. And therefore I move as a substitute that we table the original rule and all the amendments that have been offered.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion to table is always in order and is not debatable. Under Roberts Rules of Order—information, is what we are acting under—if a motion to table is carried it carries with it all the things that are in it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not all the rules; the motion to table was declared lost. DEL. KAPLAN (Minn.): I want to say that I am in favor of the amendment to the amendment. I take it that we are a body; not at all an authoritative body. When we come here from various states those instructions are on certain propositions—there are no differences. Those instructions are on matters that they have not had an opportunity to consider. We have no right to take away the referendum powers of the state that instructed that delegation. It would be establishing a bad precedent. If you vote

down the amendment to the amendment it leaves you establishing a proposition here that takes entirely away from the states the right to instruct their delegates, according to the wishes of the party membership of a state plainly expressed. Now we want to know such a proposition or do we not? We know there are differences of opinion among delegates from a state, and it is precisely because there are differences of opinion that delegations are frequently instructed that they are to vote one way, or the other, and then for state to claim the entire vote of the delegation and cast the vote accordingly.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question comes to close under our rules? DEL. BERGER (No.): I have the right under that rule. DEL. GOEBEL: I have the right under that rule. THE CHAIRMAN: The chair is wrong. Speak on, George. DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): I believe Goebel has spoken once. THE CHAIRMAN: He is on one side, adopted. THE CHAIRMAN: That rule has been adopted.

DEL. GOEBEL: I want to say that I do not give the snap of my finger for California or any other state in this matter. We are here representing the national Socialist Party, the Socialist Party of America. Comrade Kaplan says that we are going to establish a precedent that we are perfectly willing to concede the point. Am I tried to be established here? What various states have been able to trade off the vote of entire state delegations to use to them and the precedent that we shall establish here will be that it will not go that way in the Socialist Party.

Comrade Edwards' amendment does not alter my original motion one iota, except to make it more clear. What he proposes is a referendum of my state to vote a certain way on a certain proposition, on the question, it is my business, or the immigration question. But that is not the point here. The party in California have instructed their delegates how they shall vote

on certain specific questions and then on top of that add another referendum by which they are directed to vote as a unit on the matters about which they have not been specifically instructed by their state. That means, if they have fifteen delegates as I think they have, that if ten of them who think a certain way on any new proposition get together then even though the membership of that state know nothing of the merits of that particular question, yet if the ten of them agree that way a certain one representing the vote of the fifteen delegates. And that is what I do not believe in. If that is Socialism, then it is not my kind of Socialism. It is crooked Socialism. If we are going to establish a precedent let us establish it and make it clear that we won't have the methods that apply in the old parties. Let us say that we don't want that condition of things where the boss can meet another boss and say, "Let's shake hands. I will give you my delegation on this proposition if you will give me yours on that." That is what this thing means.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does any delegate wish to speak in opposition to Comrade Goebel's position?

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I do. THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Gaylord.

DEL. GAYLORD: This does not look such an awfully serious proposition to me, and perhaps I have had as much experience in our party politics as some of the others. I do not understand the terrible possibilities of this sort of thing. But it looks to me that we are all here in a representative capacity; and that here in the state organization of one state when made up its mind and voted that its delegation shall vote as a unit I do not know what right we have as a convention to override those instructions. Delegates accept their positions as delegates under the conditions prescribed by their state organizations. And they do so under the national constitution. There is nothing in the national constitution so far preventing or prohibiting the action that is reported to have been taken by the membership of California.

The appeal to Socialist principles is rather vague and indefinite. No specific principle of Socialism has been named as a principle of the other side. Democracy is a word, and the ideas too hazy to be so generally called upon in support of a proposition. I have known democracy to be invoked on both sides of a controversy, and I could just as well invoke it against Comrade Goebel's proposition. Comrade Goebel wants the organization in California which has thousands of members in it to be overridden by the few winds of the universe. How is that? I could say it as food as yours does. I could say it louder, too, if I wanted to. What's the use?

But there is a more serious matter here, and that is the right of the membership of a state to instruct its delegation as to all actions and as to the entire convention, their action in the national convention, and this convention has no right to sit that aside. I challenge our right in this convention to do it. I challenge in the case of the specific instructions of California to make that rule, especially about California, but we are setting a bad precedent when a national convention without a con-

stitutional provision to that effect, pretends to override a state referendum. THE CHAIRMAN: We shall vote first on the amendment to the amendment, offered by Delegate Edwards. The amendment to the amendment carried upon a rising vote was then declared carried. THE CHAIRMAN: The vote now comes on the amendment of Comrade Goebel. The secretary will read. THE SECRETARY: "The vote of no state shall be cast as a unit where the delegates of said state are not in agreement on the matter up for vote." The amendment just passed I think does away with this amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair thinks not. The amendment of Delegate Goebel as read was then declared carried. And Rule 12 as reported was declared carried as amended. DEL. REPLYN (Ill.) asked that the rule be amended. THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will read the rule as amended. THE SECRETARY (reading): Each delegation shall select one of its members to announce its vote. The vote of no state of such state are not in agreement on the matter up for vote; provided, that where an instruction has been given by referendum on a particular question shall be obeyed."

RULE 13. "Each delegation shall designate in the absence of any delegate the alternate who shall fill such vacancy." THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection to Rule 13?

DEL. BRANSTETTER (Okla.): I would like a ruling of the chair. If the rule means that the delegation shall select an alternate where a vacancy exists, regardless of the rules of their particular organization, that is a rule that this convention has no right to adopt. Most state organizations provide in their state constitutions a particular order or rotation in which a particular delegate or delegates that are designated shall be selected, and this convention has neither the right nor the power to give to any state delegation the right to select an alternate except in accordance with the rules of that state constitution. I would like to see the state constitution that has a vacancy in the state organization has a vacancy in the state organization. If that is the case, the state shall be selected. If it is the intention and out of order. If it is the intention of this rule that the absence of any regular elected delegates or alternates that a state delegation shall then have the right to fill the vacancy as stated I am in favor of the rule.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair holds that this proposed rule does not contravene the rule of any state organization; but leaves the rule of each state organization to follow the rule of its own state or to use its discretion in the absence of such a rule. DEL. KATE SADLER (Wash.): I move to strike out Rule 13. The motion was duly seconded. On vote it was declared lost. Rule 13 as read was then adopted.

RULE 14.

"Such members of the National Executive Committee who are not delegates, alternate delegates, or members of the National Secretary, shall have a vote in the convention. This rule and no vote in the convention. This rule also applies to members of the Women's National Committee." THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection? There is none. The rule is adopted.

and absolutely superintends all at no time was it the purpose to have the entire vote of the delegation cast the entire vote of the delegation regardless of the state or of the individual delegates. On the other hand the provision of the gentleman from Texas would make it possible in a caucus for the delegation to claim that there was an understanding in any way, or state for the purpose one way, or the other, and then for the majority of the delegates to refuse to claim the entire delegation from that state and to claim the vote accordingly. DEL. COLLINS (Colo.)

I want to say that if any man I do state—in any other state—instructs his delegation to cast their vote in a certain way, and they do it, it is not done, it is the will of the majority, and not the will of the minority that is being violated. If the majority decide that I shall cast my vote according to the wish of the majority of the delegates, and as a whole, why that is the instruction of the majority of socialists; that state; that is the will of that state. It came from that some subdivision of the party in that state without a referendum that would be a different thing. But when it comes to a clearer majority of the people on a straight referendum if you have state autonomy at all then you must stand back of the vote of that state, let them decide whether they wish to vote as one unit. If they choose to vote in the opinion of a majority of their delegation than they have made the final views of a minority that is their right. If they wish the majority of their delegation to rule the celebrity of their own right so to instruct the delegation. I cannot have the majority of the Southern States still have the right to nullify. That is a question of procedure and as there is no conference of this convention and as the will of the majority of the constituents of the convention, I think it will be well to that which by tabling this whole matter, and therefore I move as a substitute that we take the original rule and all amendments that have been offered.

ERAL DELEGATES Second the

CHAIRMAN: The motion to table is in order and is not debatable.

GOEBEL: A point of information. Robert's Rules of Order—and that is what we are acting under—if a motion is carried it carries with it all the rules, is that not?

CHAIRMAN: Not all the rules; Rule 12.

struction of a table was declared lost. KAPLAN (Minn.): I want to say I am in favor of the amendment to the bill. I take it that we have a body, not at all an authoritative one, when we come here from states or when we are instructed by the people. If I instructed us on certain propositions, I have no difference whether the instructions are on matters that they had the opportunity to consider—that is, that the majority of that state have decided by its votes must be our law, or that the minority of that state have no right to take away the legislative powers of the state that in fact they have. I think that that delegation of a bad precedent. If you vote against it, you are setting a bad precedent. If you vote for it, you are setting a bad precedent.

leaves you entangled in the amendment that takes entangling away from the states the right to instruct their delegates. Going as delegates to the wishes of the body and membership of a state plainly expressed. Now do we want to take such a position or do we not? We know there are differences of opinion among delegates from a state. And it is precisely because there are differences of opinion that delegates are differently instructed on certain definite propositions. Now do you say that we, as delegates in convention assembled, must override the action and decree of the whole membership of a state? If you do vote on the amendment. But if you believe in the principle of the referendum, and the principle of the right to instruct their delegates, and the moral duty of the delegates to follow those instructions then their vote to follow to the amendment is not the amendment of the previous question, but it is the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN. The seconded was carried.

THE SECRETARY.

final line you have before you. Amendment 12. The vote of no state will be cast as a unit where the delegates said state are not in agreement on the amendment by Edwards is: "Provided that the instructions have been given by referendum on a particular question the instructions on that particular question shall be obeyed."

THE CHAIRMAN: The question comes on the amendment to the amendment. GOEBEL: Have I not the right to ask the question? THE CHAIRMAN: No. EL. BERGER: Some one has the right to ask the question. GOEBEL: I have the right to ask the question. See Rule 10.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair is wrong.

GOEBBELS (Wash.): I believe

ive the snap of my finger for Cali-
or any other state in this nation.

Comrade Kaplan says that we are willing to concede the point that we are to establish a precedent. I am persuaded to be established here is the by which crooked

the states have been elected politicians in place of the people, and are able to trade off the interests of the people for favors to themselves. And the precedent that we establish here will be that if we can't get that way in the Socialist Party, we can't get that way in the United States. The original motion one lota except I hear. If I have been instructed by a certain proposition to vote a certain question, or the immigration question, or the business to obey those plans. But that is not the point. The party in California have instructed their delegates how they shall vote.

on certain specific questions and then on top of that added another referendum by which they are directed to vote as a unit on the matters about which they have not been specifically instructed by their state. That means, if they have eighteen delegates, I think they have that if ten of them who think a certain way on any new proposition get together and vote nothing the membership of that state know nothing of the merits of that particular question, yet if the ten of them that will stand up and cast the entire vote of the eighteen delegates. And that is what I do not believe in. If that is Socialism, then it is not my kind of Socialism. It is crooked Socialism. If we are going to establish a precedent, let us establish the methods that clear that we won't have. Let us say that apply in the old participation of things we don't want that we don't want where one boss can meet another boss and say, "Let's shake hands. I will give you say, a delegation on this proposition if you will give me yours on that." That is what this thing means. Does any delegate

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not wish to speak in opposition to Comrade Goebel's position?
 DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I do.
 THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Gaylord.

DEL. GAYLORD: This does not look such an awfully serious proposition to me, but as much experience as I have had as much experience

and perhaps I have had occasion to see some of the evidence in old party politics and some of the others. And perhaps I do not understand the terrible possibilities of that we are at all things. But it looks to me that we are at all things in a representative capacity, and that here in the state organization of one state or another when the state organization is called upon to decide shall vote as a unit I do not know what right we have as a convention to override those instructions. Delegate to accept their positions as delegates under the conditions prescribed by their state organizations. And they do so under the national constitution. There is nothing in the national constitution so far preventing or prohibiting the action that is being or has been taken by the membership of California.

The appeal to Socialism? No named rather vague and indelible. No special principle of Socialism has been named. Democracy support of the other side, ideas too has too big a word, and the ideas too when so generally called upon in support of a proposition. I have known democracy to be invoked on both sides of a controversy, and I could just as well in proposition and I could Comrade Goebel's organization in California just wants the organization of members Goebel which has thousands of members Florida which has thousands of members it to be overridden by these few scoundrels gathered from the four winds of the universe. How is that? That sounds as good as yours does. I could say as good as yours does. I could say, indeed, too, if I wanted to. What's

[illegible]

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall vote first on the amendment to the amendment, offered by Delegate Edwards.

The amendment to the amendment was then declared carried. A rising vote was then declared carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The vote now comes on the amendment of Comrade Goebel. The

THE SECRETARY: "The vote of no state shall be cast as a unit where the dele-

DEL. SOLOMON: The amendment just the matter up for vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair thinks not. The amendment of Delegate Goebel And Rule read was then declared carried.

12 as reported was declared carried
amended.
DEL. BERLYN (Ill.) asked that the rule
be amended.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will be read as amended.

THE SECRETARY (reading): Each del read the rule as amended.
The Secretary will be read as amended.

gation shall select one of no state shall be cast as a unit where the delegat shall be cast as a unit where the delegat of such state are not in agreement on the

on a particular question shall be obeyed." "On a matter up for vote, provided, that where the instruction has been given by referendum on a particular question the instruction on that particular question shall be obeyed."

RULE 13.
"Each delegation shall designate in the absence of any delegate the alternate who

shall fill such vacancy.
THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection
Rule 13? DEB. BRANSTETTER (Okla.): I would

like a ruling of the chair. If the means that the delegation shall select alternate where a vacancy exists regard the rules of their particular standing.

less of the rules of this convention then that is a rule that most state organizations have no right to adopt. Most state constitutions provide in their state constitutions that protection in which

a particular order of rotation and this c
ternates shall be selected; and the po
vention has neither the right nor the r
ative to any state delegation the r

to select an alternate except in accordance with the rules of that state constituting the state organization has wherever the way in which an al-

ready decided upon. If that is the case, the committee shall be seated. If it is unconstitutional, it is the intention of the rule that it is the intention and out of order. If it is the intention of any rule, it is the intention and out of order.

Under this rule that in the absence of an alternate elected delegates or alternates that the elected delegation shall then have the right to fill the vacancy as stated I am in full agreement.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair holds of the rule. This proposed rule does not contravene this proposed rule organization; but let

rule of any state to follow the rule of each delegation to its own state or to use its discretion in the absence of such a rule.

DEL. KATE SADDLE (D-DE) to strike out Rule 13. The motion was duly seconded. On it was declared lost.

Rule 13 as read was then adopted.

ative Committee who are not delegates shall have a vote in the convention. This and no vote applies to members of

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no rule is added.

AFTERNOON SESSION, MAY 12, 1910

There are about 300 delegates here and a majority of the 300 will be at least 18 years old now, as to the Socialist ticket. We expect that

the more democratic because it requires a majority of all the delegates, well, then the Democratic party would be still more democratic because they require two-thirds of all the delegates. We use the word democracy too much, in a vague, foolish, far as I am concerned, foolish way.

concerned I am just as well
with Solomon's amendment

"I think that this rule is very much in two parts," said DEY ZILVER (Ohio). "I move that this convention be called, and that the National Secretary call for sufficient officers of President and Vice President and that the names so received be sent out to the regular vote of the membership in the regular manner." THE CHAIRMAN: All of which is extremely interesting.

CHAIRMAN: The secretary will read the amendment to the SECRETARY: The amendment of New York is: "No delegate of majority vote of the President shall be made a delegate in this convention." CHAIRMAN: "entirely in favor of this amendment." CHAIRMAN: I will say "aye," in favor of this amendment.

CHAIRMAN: Not after the vote is taken. The majority of delegates to the amendment is in favor of the nomination of the President. The nomination of the President is a stand with the President. Will please division. The counted.

11 call shall be had when demanded by 50 delegates." (Official Record, 1917) was reduced to 15. I move that the resolution was seconded.

ALEXANDER (Tex.): If we have every time adopted.

RULE 17.

AYLORD (Wis.): It is our endeavor to have a roll call about the middle of the month. We should do this roll here. We should do nothing else. (Previous question.)

of action or I will find a reason for believing if fifteen million men want to be in a position to record on a position for they should say on a par with the up of Gaius. I think it is and we believe importance to know how that those could know how that those could have a right to state that the delegates are sending us here to take certain decisions here to take certain

Del. Solomon (N. Y.) moved the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question having been ordered one speaker will be recognized on each side of the discussion.

DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): I speak against the proposition.

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): As mover of the proposition I claim the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us see whether the amendment is against you. If he is, you

can speak, otherwise not.

DEL SLAYTON: I am opposed to the amendment setting the nominations for Wednesday, for the reason that Comrade Berger stated, but in addition I know enough to know that after the candidates are nominated the average delegate and those interested in the big thing is done, and he goes home. Now, don't jump up all over the amendment and say it doesn't mean you. We are not going to feel that it means not us, you know. Still it happens nine times out of 10

[illegible]

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): The big thing in this convention is the nomination of these candidates—that is Comrade Stanton—DEL. STEATON: No. DEL. WHEELER: I misunderstood him.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

tions are made into constant, as it gives the greatest possibility of uniformity of tendence.

THE CHAIRMAN: The vote is now in order. The Secretary will now read the original rule, the amendment and the amendment to the amendment.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I claim my right to speak.

THE CHAIRMAN: The main question is between Friday and Wednesday.

THE SECRETARY: The original rule is No. 17, it is proposed that we nominate Friday, May 13th, at 3 o'clock. The amendment of Wednesday, at 3 o'clock. The amendment of May 15th, instead. The amendment of Del. Hogan is that we add: "Provided that the platform shall have been adopted at that time."

THE CHAIRMAN: The question comes on the adoption of the amendment to the amendment provided that we shall adopt the platform before nominating candidates for President and Vice President.

A division having been called for the amendment to the amendment was lost by a vote of 90 Aye and 134 No.

THE CHAIRMAN: The vote now occurs on the substitution of Wednesday for Friday.

The amendment was defeated.

Rule 18 as reported by the committee was then adopted.

RULE 19.

"The convention shall adjourn not later than Saturday May 18th, at midnight."

DEL. RINGLER (Pa.): I move to amend by making it Friday night.

The motion was duly seconded.

An amendment was made and seconded.

DEL. SOLOMON: I move to table the whole matter.

The motion was duly seconded.

CRISIS OF QUESTION. What is the motion?

DEL. RINGLER (Pa.): Some delegates do not understand the motion, nor say so.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that the rule be postponed and all amendments be tabled. That would mean that we have no rule as to the time of adjournment.

On division on the motion to table there was a tie vote of 112 for and 112 against.

THE CHAIRMAN: There being a tie vote the chair will decide against the motion to table.

The previous question was then called for.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Most of us have neither time nor money to stay here indefinitely. So if you extend the business of the convention beyond Saturday night we shall have to hire another hall. I believe we shall do the work of the party, all the work before this convention in the time suggested if we use a little common sense. Please help us to do the work of the party and don't take up unnecessary time with points of order and points of information and unnecessary discussion of unimportant matters.

DEL. SOLOMON: I proposed the motion to table. If we fix a definite time for the adjournment then the tendency will be to drag along until that time, whether we need to do so or not. It will prevent us getting through perhaps on Thursday evening. If we find that we can conclude our business by Thursday or Friday evening, then we should adjourn then. I see no reason for taking a definite time for adjournment. I know in many cases the convention will know in advance the time for setting a definite limit for the adjournment. There was already adjourn six hours earlier than we expected.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is to adopt rule 19. The amendment offered by Ringler is that we adjourn Friday. The amendment to the amendment by Killinger is that no time be fixed for adjournment.

DEL. KILLINGER (N. J.): My motion was that this convention adjourn when it has concluded its business.

THE CHAIRMAN: This amendment to the amendment is that this convention adjourn when it has concluded or completed its business.

A division being called for the amendment to the amendment was lost by a vote of 55, No 145.

The amendment to the amendment was defeated by a vote of 55 to 145.

The amendment to substitute Friday for Saturday was put to a vote and lost.

The original motion, to adjourn not later than Saturday midnight, was then carried.

Rule 20 was then read by the Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any opposition or objection?

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): When are we permanently organized?

THE CHAIRMAN: I suppose permanently organized means when we have elected a permanent chairman.

DEL. SOLOMON: I move an amendment that all speeches of welcome be postponed till after the election of committee.

DEL. SPARGO: I move as an amendment to the amendment that we hear speeches of welcome this day at 6 P. M. (Seconded.)

DEL. JACOBS (Wis.): Mr. Chairman, is it necessary, when a motion is offered, to always offer an amendment and then an amendment to an amendment, and then vote those down and then adopt the original proposition? Is it necessary to do that on every question? It seems to me we are wasting time. I want to get the information.

THE CHAIRMAN: The information of the chair is that so far it has been necessary. Whether it will be necessary in the future, God knows. (Laughter.)

DEL. SPARGO: I desire to state briefly the reason for making my proposition. The local comrades, I understand, have arranged for a demonstration for tonight, and it would seem particularly inappropriate, after we have held a public demonstration under their auspices, to be then welcomed in their behalf. I think we ought to have that much courtesy.

A vote was then taken on the amendment to hear the speeches of welcome at 5 o'clock this afternoon, and it was carried.

Rule 21 was then read and adopted without objection.

Rule 22 was also adopted without objection.

The Secretary then read rule 23.

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): The Pennsylvania delegates think that four hours each should be allowed for the debate, on the questions of immigration and agriculture, each side to choose a manager to divide the speeches and give notice in writing of the assignments of speakers, and all votes shall be taken without further debate. I move the adoption of the following amendment:

That four hours each shall be allowed for debates on industrialism, immigration and agriculture. Each side shall choose a manager to divide the speeches and give notice in writing of the assignments of speakers, and all votes shall be taken without further debate. (Seconded.)

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I move to amend that by inserting instead of the

question of Industrialism, the report of the Committee on Labor Organizations and Their Relations to the Socialist Party." (Seconded.)

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): The delegates who were present at recent conventions of the Socialist Party will remember that on every question there were not simply two sides discussed, but many sides discussed. Those of you who remember the prolonged discussion, lasting for nearly two whole days, on the subject of immigration, will remember that we did not have only a majority report and a minority report, but we had a substitute motion, and then we had delegates from all over America giving their views on the subject of immigration, that could not be related either pro or con, either directly or indirectly, against or for one of these propositions. That may seem almost impossible, but it is a fact, and I say, Mr. Chairman, that when these great questions come up before us in this assembly, every delegate on this floor ought to have involved to express himself on the subject.

(Applause.) It is not simply two or an amendment and an amendment to the amendment. It will be an effort on the part of the delegates not to be able to say views, and they may be for or against any exactly whether they are for or against any other particular person's views, but they ought to have a right to express their views. I think Mr. Chairman, that this kind of a division of time will be contrary to the best interests of the delegations.

(Applause.) I think that it will be important for these questions open to the chair and to the delegations, and if, at the conclusion of any great and serious debate, it comes finally down to the accepting of a majority or minority report, then we have made provisions in the rules by which that debate may be closed, and we may extend that if we choose to two or three persons on conflicting sides. But on the main questions that shall arise before us here, at least seven or eight of these questions, there should be no limit to who stands where when he rises to speak. As near as we can, let us leave that to the care of the chair and to the honor of the delegates. I hope this management of time, dividing it into so-called two sides, will be voted entirely down. (Applause.)

DEL. O'REILLY (Ill.): There is another point to be considered. I recognize the importance of the questions named, but if we give twelve hours to those questions at five hours a day we will find ourselves allotting two days and two nights to the discussion of those three questions. Now, they are all questions which have been thoroughly all questions in previous conventions and in papers and magazines outside of the convention. I think almost every delegate has his views on this subject pretty well crystallized, and if he is working for the best interests of the delegation and working for the speedy business of the delegation, as the speaker of the delegates have been doing to some extent, he will be willing to have the day, I think he will be crystallized on these questions voiced by one member's explanation of the views which he holds. I do not believe we should, at the beginning of our convention, pledge ourselves to spend two days and two nights of the time of our convention in considering three questions, and tie ourselves to any such pledge. (Applause.)

DEL. DAVIS (Pa.): If, after receiving the reports of the various committees, and if after the various reports, delegates come here undecided, all can have studied this your view one hour. I am going to vote, because I have tried to inform myself before coming here, and I am positively opposed to putting that much of the time of the convention into the hands of any two men or any five men. When it comes to the action of this convention on the question of immigration or the question of industrialism, I represent a branch that has over 800 members; I know their sentiments and I know my sentiments, and I want a voice as well as a vote on this question, and I am unalterably opposed to limiting this question to any one, two or half a dozen men. I want every Socialist here to express himself on this question and to have the courage of his convictions to vote them.

DEL. PEACH (Conn.): This motion now occupying the attention of the delegates on these questions is in conflict with the rule already adopted which governs the mode of procedure. By these rules that have been adopted, assigned a certain time. Therefore, it is out of order.

The Chairman held the point of order not well taken.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I understand these three questions named are to be the most important, that will come before this convention. When this policy of the Socialist Party of America with respect to these three questions, we shall have accomplished the major part of our work. Now, I understand that in the congress of two years ago, which I had not the honor of attending, over two days were spent in the discussion of this question of immigration. Now, if it was necessary then, if it was a large question then, it must necessarily be as large now. Men who have read the report of the congress and have gone out and given the subject more than the ordinary attention since that time, have something to say here that I want to hear, and I am sure that when this convention passes upon this most important matter it ought to be as a result of our deliberations. And I hope, with Com. Wilson of California, that you will not limit the discussion here. You have already limited the day. You have already said how many minutes a speaker may give to a subject. You have already in the rules hedged about a discussion of this character. Now, let us not leave a subject till we have thrashed it out completely. Let us not leave it to the judgment of the Chairman and the judgment of the delegates who, I am sure, are here for the purpose of acquiring the largest information before they vote.

The previous question was then ordered.

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): I rise to speak in favor of the amendment. I do not think Com. Wilson's objection can be maintained. We must recognize that even though there are a great many variations in opinion among these three subjects, yet they can be divided into two general groups. We find two well-defined situations. I am sure you all agree with that. There may be exceptions of opinion that are at variance, but in the main one or the other side is going to be maintained. The proposition

here is plain to all those who understand the question. I doubt whether there are many here who do not understand where they are standing on these three questions and I agree with the comrade over here that we could tie a vote on these two and not the amendment question you would after spending the five hours. The position of Com. Williams is that there are so many opinions on the subject that I do not think can be maintained if both sides are given an opportunity to present and consider the line of argument they want to present. Let us not decide on four hours. That is 48 periods of 5 minutes each. I doubt whether there are 48 persons in the convention who wish to speak. That is too long a time. I am perfectly willing to allot less time, except on the Agricultural question. I do not believe these objections are well founded. We are trying to promote expedition and accomplish the most possible and obtain the best judgment on these three questions. Now, some may think we are trying to kick somebody. I hardly think that is just, because here are 48 opportunities on each side. I am sure that is absolutely liberal enough. Therefore, I cannot see how we can do better. Com. Berger may testify from his experience as a parliamentarian that you cannot handle a question of such magnitude without you in some way control the time. Now, consider that you are allotting plenty of time to everybody who cares to give notice to the person selected by each side, and to age the time. No person will be allowed to speak can be extended within that number. Therefore, I think the amendment is a sane proposition.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we have heard one on a limitation of the time. Is there anyone who wants to speak for unlimited time?

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): I take that position. I take the position for an unlimited opportunity for every delegate in this convention to express his views on this question. I will tell you why. When this discussion on any of these propositions gets on the floor, sometimes some of the delegates are not ready to talk, but after hearing the question discussed for a few minutes they arise, and they are able, even though the are humble followers of Marx—I am not an alleged intellectual—they may possibly be able to advise those who think they understand the subject thoroughly. Now, for myself, on one of these propositions, if you would appoint me a committee of one and refer it to me, I would report in three minutes and settle the whole thing and dance right there.

The pending motion and amendment were again read by the Secretary.

The amendment to allow four hours to each side, under the management of a leader to divide the time, was defeated.

The original motion was then carried.

The next rule, Number 24, was adopted without objection.

Rule 25 was read.

DEL. FLOREN (Colo.) moved to strike out "two-thirds" and insert "majority."

The amendment was lost and the original motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Additional rules are now in effect.

DEL. KRAFFT (N. Y.): I move that all committees selected by this convention shall be in session for one day, and that the business of the convention shall be suspended during that period. (Seconded.) Now we wish to expedite matters. It may horrify you to say that we should suspend

the convention for one day. I would give you to understand that these committees would thereby have a good chance to air their views and allow those members of the convention who are not on the committees to give their views also. Suppose we have 14 committees elected. We will then do in one day 14 committees' work. That is plain. The committees will then bring their findings in complete form after all the gas has been exploded before the convention, and it will save us considerable time. Another thing, comrades; when these committees, composed of 150 men, are in session, one-half of this convention carries on the work of the convention. I wish to be present, and I hope many others do also. Work can be done in this convention that will be contrary to the wishes of the 150 who are in session on the committees. Therefore, I hope that you will adopt this rule.

DEL. MILLER (Nev.): I am against this proposition. I can state my reason in two words: Forget it.

The amendment offered by Del. Krafft was lost.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I wish to offer an amendment to the rules. I move that no nominating speeches be made. That is to be inserted in Article 17.

The amendment was carried by a vote of 162 to 46.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I move that the rules be adopted as a whole, and that they be printed immediately and that all delegates be supplied with copies.

DEL. BERGER: No, there is an order of business that comes next, and must be accepted. It belongs with the rules.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right. We will complete it and have it in type.

DEL. LOWE (Ill.): I move a reconsideration of Rule 14, in which you say that the National Secretary and National Executive Committee shall have a voice but no vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did you vote in favor of it?

DEL. LOWE: Yes. I want to amend it and to include the Woman's National Committee to have a voice and no vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then you do not need a reconsideration. You move to amend?

DEL. LOWE: Yes.

The amendment was carried.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

THE CHAIRMAN: The order of business will now be read as submitted by the Committee on Rules.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection to this order of business? Yes, I just want to add that the original printed draft did not contain the provision for a vice-chairman.

The National Executive Committee added a vice-chairman. I suggest the Secretary seems to have forgotten it. I move that a provision be added to the rules.

THE CHAIRMAN: Com. Berger moves that a vice-chairman be elected every day, together with the chairman for the day. Is there any objection? None. The Secretary will please add the vice-chairman. Is there any objection to the order of business as read? As there is no objection, the order of business will be adopted.

A delegate moved that at the close of the last session of the convention the record of that day be read and approved before adjournment.

THE CHAIRMAN: In other words, that the minutes of the last day be read at the close of that day's session?

THE DELEGATE: Exactly.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection? The Secretary will please make a note of it.

DEL. EDWARDS (Tex.): I move that no question shall require more than a majority of those voting. In some cases Robert's Rules require two-thirds.

THE CHAIRMAN: Com. Edwards moves that no question shall require more than a simple majority of those voting, as modified by Robert's Rules of Order, which requires two-thirds in some cases. Any objection?

DEL. BERGER: Excepting for the suspension of the rules. For this we have passed our own rule.

THE CHAIRMAN: Excepting suspension of the rules specifically provided for. With that understanding there is no objection.

DEL. MENG (Ark.): I think we should have a two-thirds vote on the previous question. We don't want any kick. The question requires two-thirds according to Robert's Rules of Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

The motion of Del. Edwards was then carried.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I move that the rules and order of business as read be now adopted as a whole as amended, and that they be printed immediately and that the delegates be furnished with copies thereof.

Motion seconded and carried.

On motion of Del. White (Mass.) the temporary officers were made the permanent officers of the day.

James Reilly of New Jersey was then elected permanent secretary of the convention.

Elizabeth Goldstein of Massachusetts and John Russell of New York were elected permanent assistant secretaries.

The convention then proceeded to the election of a vice-chairman for the day.

The following nominations were made:

ELIZABETH GOLDSTEIN (Mass.) Declined.

JOHN RUSSELL (N.Y.) Declined.

BERNARD (Nev.) Declined.

DEL. RAMP (Ore.) Declined.

DEL. RAMP was elected vice-chairman.

The chairman called for nominations for four permanent tellers and two judges.

DEL. CLARK (Conn.) moved that the four temporary tellers be declared the permanent tellers of the convention. (Seconded.)

Of the four temporary tellers Del. Strebel of New York declined to be a candidate for permanent teller, leaving as follows:

DEL. RODRIGUEZ (Ill.) Declined.

DEL. SCOTT (Mont.) Declined.

DEL. SCOTT (Pa.) Declined.

DEL. SCOTT (Tex.) Declined.

DEL. SCOTT (Pa.) Declined.

DEL. SCOTT (Tex.) Declined.

DEL. SCOTT (Pa.) Declined.

He was greeted with loud applause and cries of "Where are the overalls?"

COMRADE OTT: The call for the overalls is made by some who ought to be pointed. Others are disappointed because the overalls have not put in an appearance. But the overalls made their appearance at this hall this morning. I had them here. They are not here now.

Marion County Local has instructed me to address the convention and to welcome the convention and the delegates to Indianapolis, and I do so with great pride, from the very fact that there have only been two events of great importance in this city of Indianapolis, which occurred in July, 1901, when the Unity Convention was assembled in this city, and the other is this convention assembled here in the year 1912.

(Cheers.)

Comrades, the statement was made from the floor of this very hall that in the year 1912 the great issue would be Socialism and the Socialists.

In this hall by that friend of labor, Mark Hanna, that was his prophecy, and his prophecy is being fulfilled. We are in this convention, the largest convention that has ever assembled from the working class as a class-conservative political organization.

There is no doubt in my mind that the Indianapolis papers and the Indianapolis reporters are surprised to see you. Because they are not very intelligent as a rule. They are no doubt, surprised to see the high order of intelligence of the delegates here, and also to see how orderly they are.

There is no reason to doubt that there may be some pickpockets in the crowd. I leave your valuables at the hotel.

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COMRADE GOODMAN: I am here from Workmen's Circle 176. It is an organization that extends all over the United States, and has 40,000 members. I am here to welcome you on behalf of our organization because our organization does not accept members who do not pledge themselves not to vote for candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties; and that they will not be scabs. While it is organized for the immediate material benefit of its members, it is also an organization that is doing all it can for the Socialist Party. I am here to welcome you to Indianapolis, because you are the people who are to bring peace and happiness to all the people of the United States. The people of the country cannot expect anything from the Republican and Democratic parties because they are organized for the benefit of a few. But you delegates here are representing all the men and women that work, the men and women who produce everything. Therefore, I welcome you in the name of my organization. I thank you. Nominations for committees were then made as follows:

NOMINATIONS FOR PLATFORM COMMITTEE.

Wilson (Cal.), Geffs (Colo.), Chert Washington, D. C.), Hegan (Ark.), Conrad (Ia.), Henry (Ind.), Lantersick (Ky.), Spargo (Vt.), Ricker (Kan.), Rickett (Md.), Carey (Mass.), McMaster (Mich.), Kaplan (Minn.), Verling (Mo.), Duncan (Mont.), Lee (N. Y.), Russell (N. Y.), Keiso (N. D.), Zitt (Ohio), Nagle (Okla.), Moore (Pa.), Alexander (Tex.), Berger (Wis.).

NOMINATIONS FOR CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE.

Richardson (Cal.), Floaten (Colo.), Peach (Conn.), Allen (Fla.), Motley (Ia.), Berlyn (Ill.), Oneal (Ind.), Jacobson (Iowa), Brewer (Kan.), Latimer (Minn.), Garver (Mo.), Steedman (Ill.), Jacobs Hillmire (N. Y.), Bowen (N. D.), Dethlefsen (Ohio), Branstetter (Okla.), Williams (Pa.), Smith Wheeler (Pa.), Williams (Pa.), Smith Wheeler (Pa.), But (Utah), Barnes (Pa.), Waynick (Wash.), Hogan (Ark.), Carlson (Wyo.).

A DELEGATE: A point of information. Can a state nominate more than one member of a committee? **THE CHAIRMAN:** The delegates from any state can make as many nominations as they wish, but when it comes to election only one from each state can be elected.

NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Slayton (Pa.), Williams (Cal.), Collins (Colo.), Cohen Thompson (Wis.), Maley Spargo (Vt.), Taylor (Ill.), Rower (Wash.), Taylor (Ill.), Rower (Wash.), Morgan (Minn.), Killingsbeck (N. J.), Farrell (Ohio), Willis (Okla.), Dorfman (Ore.), Melten (Tex.), Wilson (Kan.), Tiller (N. D.), Duncan (Mont.), Wells (Cal.), Thomas (Wis.), Paulsen (Wyo.).

NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

Gallery (Ark.), Regun (Cal.), Troxel (Colo.), Brown (Iowa), Burke (N. H.), Miller (Nev.), Watkins (Minn.), Stewart (Ia.), Clifford (Ohio), Goazton (Pa.), Jones (N. J.), Spargo (Vt.), Endres (N. Y.), Hayes (Ohio), Irvin (Okla.), Bacon (Pa.), Lesour (N. D.), Thompson (Tex.), Cupples (Wash.), Aalonen (Mich.).

At this point it was moved and seconded that the rules for the convention be suspended, and that the delegates remain in session until all the nominations for the committees have been completed. The motion was carried.

NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON REPORTS OF NATIONAL OFFICERS.

Simons (Kan.), Watters (Ind.), Stalard (Kan.), England (Me.), Grant (Minn.), Prevey (Ohio), Miller (Nev.), Duffy (N. Y.), Storck (Ohio), Sherman (Ore.), Young (Pa.), Anna Cohen (Pa.), Ricker (Kan.).

NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

DEL. GAYLORD: What is the meaning of this committee? **THE CHAIRMAN:** The chair assumes that that committee reports on the progress of the Socialist Party abroad and our relations with the parties abroad. The following delegates were then nominated for the Committee on International Relations:*

(—) Hillquit (N. Y.), Haemer (Ill.), Simons (Kan.), Spargo (Vt.), London (N. Y.), Russell (N. Y.), Solomon (N. Y.), Bessemer (Ohio), Strickland (Ohio), Lauki (Minn.), Berger (Conn.), Warhope (N. Y.), Reynolds (Ind.), Bennets (N. Y.), Barnes (Pa.).

NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON PARTY PRIZES.

The following delegates were nominated for the Committee on Party Prizes. Maynard (Cal.), Reynolds (Ind.), Kelly (Ill.), Komgold* (—), Berstelsky (Conn.), Harriman (Cal.), Sheffer (Ind.), Hickey (Tex.), Ingrams (Minn.), Wesley (Utah), Owen (Okla.), Maley (Wash.), Kraft (N. J.), Kennedy (Ill.), Malkiel (N. Y.), Lon-don (N. Y.), Bachmann (Ohio), Clifford (Ohio), Ramp (Ore.), Ervin (Pa.), Spargo (Vt.), Wilson (Kan.), Lowe (Ill.), Morrow (Pa.), Rosett (Md.), Bettall (Ill.), Cupples (Wash.), Barnes (Pa.), Jacobs (Wis.), Brewer (Kan.).

NOMINATIONS FOR PUBLICITY COMMITTEE.

Frank W. Wolf Accepted.
E. P. Clark Accepted.
Oyler (Neb.) Declined.
Ricker (Kan.) Declined.
C. J. Wright Accepted.
Theimer (N. J.) Accepted.
Slayton (Pa.) Declined.
Hogan (Ark.) Declined.
Oneal (Ind.) Declined.
W. J. Ghent Declined.
May Wood Simons Declined.
John Spargo Declined.

NOMINATIONS FOR AUDITING COMMITTEE.

Latimer (Minn.) Accepted.
Garrison (Ind.) Declined.
White (Mass.) Declined.
Reynolds (Ind.) Declined.
J. A. Smith (Utah) Accepted.
Melten (Tex.) Declined.
Solomon (N. Y.) Declined.
Bostrom (Wash.) Declined.
Thompson (Wis.) Declined.
Fritz (Miss.) Accepted.

NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN-SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS.

Carolyn Lowe Accepted.
Burckle (N. Y.) Accepted.
*Not a delegate.

Ameringer (Okla.) Declined.
Coleman (Mass.) Accepted.
Byrd (Tex.) Declined.
Aalonen (Mich.) Accepted.
Barnes (Pa.) Declined.
Goazton Accepted.
Lauki Declined.
Malkiel (N. Y.) Declined.
Devold (Minn.) Accepted.
Jacobson (Minn.) Declined.
McGarran (Ohio) Declined.
London (N. Y.) Declined.
Perich (So. Slov.) Accepted.
J. E. Cohen (Pa.) Accepted.

NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONS TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Merrick (Pa.) Accepted.
Harriman (Cal.) Accepted.
Troxell (Colo.) Accepted.
McLevy (Conn.) Accepted.
London (N. Y.) Declined.
Williams (Pa.) Accepted.
Richardson (Cal.) Declined.
Goebel (N. J.) Declined.
Rodriguez (Ill.) Accepted.
J. H. Maurer (Pa.) Accepted.
Strickland (Ohio) Accepted.
J. J. Jacobsen (Iowa) Declined.
Stallard (Kan.) Accepted.
Foley (Pa.) Declined.
Stanb (Md.) Accepted.
White (Mass.) Accepted.
J. A. C. Menton (Mich.) Accepted.
Dempsey (S. D.) Accepted.
Brenstetter (Okla.) Accepted.
Bransletter (Mo.) Accepted.
Smith (Mont.) Accepted.
Hickey (Tex.) Accepted.
Lewis (Ore.) Accepted.
Lee (N. Y.) Accepted.
Van Lear Absent.
Clifford (Ohio) Accepted.
Cosgrove (N. J.) Accepted.
Max Hayes (Ohio) Not arrived.
Fegun (Cal.) Declined.
Lawrence (Mass.) Accepted.
Fennel (Okla.) Accepted.
Feld (Ill.) Declined.
Edwards (Tex.) Accepted.
Dorcas (N. J.) Declined.
Goebel (Wash.) Declined.
Harriman (Minn.) Accepted.
Moore (Pa.) Declined.
Minkeln Accepted.
Barnes (Pa.) Declined.

NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATIVES.

Lang (Iowa.) Accepted.

NOMINATIONS FOR COMMITTEE ON STATE AND MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

Blase (Kan.) Declined.
Byrd (Tex.) Declined.
Stalard (Ill.) Accepted.
Kaplan (Minn.) Accepted.
Bruce (Pa.) Accepted.
Wright (Neb.) Accepted.
Cory (Wash.) Accepted.
Lipscomb (Mo.) Accepted.
Stanley (Ore.) Declined.
Lowell (Ohio) Accepted.
Lundgren (N. Y.) Declined.
Kopp (N. Y.) Declined.
Gaylord (Wis.) Accepted.
Cunne (Okla.) Accepted.
Wells (Cal.) Accepted.

It was moved and seconded that the committees nominated be printed on the ballot and be distributed to the delegates, and when voted upon that the requisite number of each committee receiving the highest number of votes be declared elected, that the candidate receiving the highest number of votes be the chairman of the committee, and that when there are more than one candidate from a given state the candidate receiving the highest vote be chosen as a member of the committee. The motion was seconded and carried. The convention then adjourned until Monday morning at 10 o'clock.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

The meeting was called to order by Chairman Hillquit.

The following delegates were nominated for the Chairman of the day.

1. Mahlon Barnes (Pa.), James F. Carey (Mass.), James A. Schmidt (Utah), Sam Beardsley (Conn.), George Goebel (N. J.), G. H. Lockwood (Mich.), E. A. Greene (Tex.), Morris Hillquit (N. Y.), Charles T. Peach (Conn.), Arthur LeSueur (N. D.), J. Stitt Wilson (Cal.).

All of the above delegates declined the nomination excepting Barnes of Pennsylvania and Schmidt of Utah.

Upon the vote being taken it resulted, Barnes, 166; Schmidt, 50. Thereupon J. Mahlon Barnes of Pennsylvania was declared elected as the Chairman of the day.

The next order of business was the election of a Vice-Chairman.

DEL. MALKIDEL: I move that the second name on the list for Chairman be chosen as the Vice-Chairman for the day.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to speak briefly against the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will Comrade Schmidt accept the nomination?

DEL. SCHMIDT: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nominations for Vice-Chairman are now in order.

The following delegates were then nominated for the office of Vice-Chairman:

J. G. Strickland (Ohio), George Goebel (N. J.), J. C. Edwards (Tex.), Anna Maley (Wash.), N. A. Richardson (Cal.), John Troxell (Cal.).

All the above nominees having declined the nomination, excepting Goebel, Edwards, the latter was declared elected Vice-Chairman by acclamation.

We cannot hear DEL. COLLINS (Cal.). We cannot hear the proceedings at these side tables, and I move that the delegates seated under the balconies be allowed to remove their tables forthwith to the center of the room.

The motion was duly seconded.

in favor of the amendment that another hall be procured will say ay. Those opposed say nay. The motion was carried.

The original motion is that the delegates located under the balconies be permitted to move to the center of the hall in the rear.

A DELEGATE: There has been none elected.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): I move that the Chairman appoint six temporary sergeants-at-arms until we elect them regularly.

DEL. HOGAN: The election of sergeants-at-arms is in order now. Why not proceed with that?

The motion that the Chair appoint six temporary sergeants-at-arms was carried.

The following delegates were appointed as temporary sergeants-at-arms: Comrades Newman, Hogan, Greene, White and Branstetter.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order is the roll call of delegates unless dispensed with.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): I move the roll call be dispensed with.

DEL. REILLY (N. J.): I suggest that, while we may dispense with the roll call, that any delegates who were not here yesterday, and were not recorded, be given opportunity to have their names recorded today.

The motion to dispense with the roll call was carried.

The following additional delegates were then reported present: Kruse, Strickland, Lantz, Zitt (Ohio), Ameringer (Pa.), Beery (Ohio), Harold (Penn.), Foley (Pa.), Prosser (Pa.), Huston (W. Va.), Seidel (Wis.), Maxwell (Ill.), Olson (Mass.), Baxter (La.), Cox (Ala.), Kral (Ill.), Frank Prevey (Ohio), Hayes (Ohio).

On motion the reading of the minutes of the preceding business day be postponed until the unfinished business is reached.

It was moved and seconded that the minutes of each day be printed and placed upon the desk of each delegate on the morning of the following day, and if any delegate finds anything objectionable in the minutes he can raise the objection. If no minutes are objected to they will stand adopted as printed.

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion having been adopted, the proper arrangements will be made by authority of this convention to have the minutes so printed and distributed.

THE SECRETARY: That means, of course, that the minutes of yesterday's session will be printed tomorrow because we had to arrange all these committees alphabetically and it was an awful job.

THE CHAIRMAN: The minutes of today's session will also be here tomorrow. The next order of business will be the report of the Committee on Credentials. There are no additional reports. The next

order is the unfinished business of yesterday.

COMRADE A. B. BAKER: There is a certain human element in getting printing done. We decided at yesterday's session to have the printed list of the nominations here; the copy was sent to the printers last night in plenty of time and the billings will not be here for an hour. That is the best we can do.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): A matter of personal privilege. We have come from all over the nation and there is an important question of railroad fares. The slips have been handed out and we don't know how to fill them out. Are we to be allowed our sleeper fares in coming to this convention? To bring the matter properly before the meeting, I move that regular sleeper fares be considered a part of the railway fare.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I move that the matter be referred to the National Executive Committee for consideration and report; otherwise we shall repeat the performance of 1904 and have four hours' discussion of this matter.

The amendment of Delegate Spargo was duly seconded.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): There are delegates here who come from the Pacific Coast who ought to know whether they are going to receive a Pullman car fare.

THE SECRETARY: Does that motion mean that the committee shall report tomorrow?

THE CHAIRMAN: That they report to this convention, I suggest.

DEL. LOCKWOOD: We are here for business session to refer to the National Executive Committee was carried on a division, 128 voting aye and 56 no.

DEL. REILLY: There is a matter on the election of committees. On one committee on which there were five members to be elected and we had only three shall not be more than one member on a committee from any one state.

I found that we had only five nominees from the state of New Jersey. Therefore I didn't send the copy for that ballot to the printers. I was included on the committee. Some comrade made a motion that the five. Now there was act, and that made the five. I thought likely it would be possible to fill that publicly committee by a. I take my name off of the convention.

the committee and we have the names of Clark, Palmer, Wolf and Hayden.

THE CHAIRMAN: Shall we fill the committee by nominating one additional nominee?

The suggestion of the Chair was agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nominations are in order.

DEL. MARGARET PREVEY (Ohio): I nominate Max Hayes of Ohio.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there are no further nominations the nominations will close. On motion the five nominees were declared the Committee on Publicity.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Communications and telegrams conveying greetings to the convention were received from the following organizations: New York Young Peoples Socialist Federation.

Executive Committee Russian Branches
Socialist Party of the Northwestern States,
Schenectady Italian Socialist Branch,
Children of the South-east Socialist Sunday School, Cleveland, Ohio,
Third Ward Branch, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania,
Atlantic County Local, New Jersey,
United Hebrew Trades of New York,
Jewish Daily Forward,
Locals Grattan and Simpson, Taylor County, West Virginia,
Labor League of Boston, Mass.,
Poplar Bluff Local, Missouri,
Socialist Sunday School, Cleveland, Ohio,
Jewish Socialist Territorialists, Philadelphia,
Jewish Socialist Party Conference, Chicago.

Naturalization League, Newark, N. J.,
Central Committee Jewish Socialist Territorialist Labor Party of America,
Armenian Revolutionary Federation,
United Hungarian Socialist Federation of America,
Newark Young Peoples Socialist Federation,
Branch 431, Workmen's Circle, New Haven, Conn.,
Branch 127, Workmen's Circle, Chicago, Ill.,
Local Kings County, Socialist Party, New York.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are a number of letters which will be read and referred to the proper committees when elected.

Referred to the Committee on Immigration, Wichita Falls, Local 1149.
Referred to the Committee on Swedish Local, Communications from Swedish Local, West Concord, N. H., and from Slovak Socialist Section, Socialist Party of America.
Referred to the Resolutions Committee.

Communication from the Polish Section of the Socialist Party.
Referred to the Committee on the Platform.

At the conclusion of the reading of the communication from the Swedish Local, West Concord, N. H., the following occurred:

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I have an idea that we are wasting time. That last communication is not a greeting. I think it is an attempt to influence the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Berlyn is right. The Chair announced that there were some congratulatory telegrams and letters, and that there were some others that would be referred to the committee. But there are only two more.

At the conclusion of the reading of letters and telegrams as follows:

COM. HAYWOOD: I have a telegram from San Diego, Cal., that I would like to have read by the Secretary of the Convention.

A DELEGATE: I would like to know whether it refers to a branch of the Socialist Party, or some other organization.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the Secretary will read it.

The Secretary then read the telegram referred to as follows:
"William D. Haywood,
Socialist Convention, Indianapolis."

"Am sending dispatch to Indianapolis, registered. Bring it up on floor of convention. Conditions critical here. Secure an appropriation from national organization to aid us. Present fight against anti-picketing ordinance, which also prevents all public meetings. Object suppression of Socialist and industrialist agitation. All radicals being deported. Employers seek to establish precedent which will allow deportation of all strikers in future. American Federation of Labor must take firm stand with us. Over 150 men still in jail; 100 I. W. W. and trade unionists deported Wednesday. Trade union officials arrested and assaulted by vigilantes and police. A group of police force them to leave city. Group of police personally attacks trade unionist crippling him. Gigante funeral demonstration Los Angeles; killed by police firing on I. W. W. Hall. Unable to hold funeral here on account of police anti-congress roads. Six men arrested while attempting funeral. Socialists publicly committing murder. Grew out of with conspiracy to murder. Property taken." DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I move that the matter be referred to the Executive Committee for immediate action.

DEL. WANNHOPE (N. Y.): I second the motion.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I move to amend that they report here as soon as possible.

DEL. CAREY: Certainly.

DEL. FURMAN: I move to amend that they report not later than Wednesday at 3 o'clock.

The amendment was duly seconded.

The motion, as amended, that the matter be referred to the Executive Committee for immediate action, with instructions to report to the convention as soon as possible, and not later than Wednesday at 3 o'clock, was carried.

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I move that from now on that this mass of daily and weekly literature of the party be kept off the delegates' tables. We are utterly smothered by this literature, and are too busy to read it. Take it out and give it to the heathen on the street where it will do some good.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that no more literature be laid upon the delegates' tables.

On motion duly seconded, the motion of Delegate Furman was laid on the table.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): If we have no other business before the house it seems it would be well to take up the regular reports from committees elected by the last National Congress of the party. There we have business ready for us and we need not waste any time.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I second the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the motion that the convention take up the consideration of the reports of the permanent committees.

DEL. WALKIDEL (N. Y.): I move as an amendment that when the ballots come under take a recess and proceed to the election consideration and committees so that those of the various reports may be able to go to work.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I accept the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is understood then that when the ballots arrive the then order of business shall be set aside and we proceed to elect the committees. It is moved that we now take up the reports of standing committees.

DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): I move to amend that the report of the Committee on Immigration be taken up first. On behalf of my comrades of the minority of the Committee on Immigration I ask the delegates that they will not carry out this motion. We have held one meeting and it would be necessary for us to hold still another.

DEL. SLAYTON: In view of the statement of Delegate Sparco I will withdraw my motion if any second is willing.

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): This is the same committee that has been standing for weeks; and it is not ready yet.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not the point under discussion. The question is shall we take up this subject now.

DEL. STREBEL (N. Y.): I move that we now take up the report of the Committee on Farmers' Programme.

COM. SIMONS: That committee is in the same position as the Committee on Immigration. We are not quite ready to report.

THE SECRETARY: The Committee on Vocational Education is the next.

DEL. STREBEL: They are in a similar position. They have a report but only one of the committee is in this convention. The report, however, is here and can be read and acted upon.

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall then take up the report of the Committee on Education, Comrade Strebel, reporting.

DEL. LANPERSBECK (Ky.): I move that the reading of this report be dispensed with.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that the reading be dispensed with. I might suggest that it does not follow that every report will be read because we read this one. We are competent from time to time to decide that matter.

DEL. GAYLORD: There is no good reason for taking the time of the convention in reading printed reports. It is time to read as assumed to have had the time to read them. There is occasion for the discussion of the report of the committee. You will find the report of the committee in the printed report. I suggest that Comrade Strebel read the recommendations; and then the matter can be brought definitely before us by a motion for their adoption.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you make that motion?

DEL. GAYLORD: There is a motion now that the reading of the report be dispensed with. I move to amend that the recommendations only be read at this time.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I am opposed to the motion to dispense with the reading of this report. I venture to say that every delegate has read all the reports attentively. Also the comrade reporting for a committee may desire to change parts of the report, or to elucidate the report as he reads it. The practice of acting upon printed reports upon the assumption that they have been read and that their contents are known leads to that vicious practice that prevails in our legislative bodies where things are not disposed of intelligently; things are read and done or assumed to be read and done, without intelligent thought as to what action they are taking. These reports are printed and distributed for the purpose of giving the delegates the opportunity to consider

them, but not for the purpose of eliminating the reading from the floor.

DEL. JACOBSEN (La.): A point of order. Under our rules adopted yesterday each chairman of a committee has twenty minutes in which to report. The chairman of a committee may employ his time in any way that he chooses. He can read the report or he can read the recommendations, or he can give the synopsis of the report. That is my point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken because the convention is always competent to decide whether it will have a report read or not; and that is what the convention is now doing. The motion is that the report be not read. The amendment is that the recommendations only be read. As many as are in favor of having the recommendations only read will say Aye.

The amendment to read the recommendations only was declared lost.

The motion to dispense with the reading of the report was then defeated.

DEL. STREBEL: At the congress of the Socialist Party at Chicago, two years ago, the question was raised that all over the United States an agitation was in progress for the adoption of the vocational school system; that in different states different attitudes were taken by different locals; some favoring, some opposing the adoption of vocational schools. As this was a matter of great importance to the party it was brought before the Congress and this committee appointed, and the supposition was that this committee would be constituted of those who were capable of analyzing this subject, giving a thorough analysis to the vocational school, and the ideas upon which the theories in support of such schools were founded. But as to the report that is before you we never had a meeting; we never got together; and I am frank to say that this report may not be the very best that the convention or the party should have. Personally I should like to see it go back for further consideration. The report is here. As such I was willing to sign it to get the matter before this convention so that some further action could be taken on this important matter. I will read the report as we have it as written by the chairman of the committee.

DELEGATE STREBEL: I move the adoption of the report. (Seconded.)

DEL. M. W. SIMONS (Kas.): While I am thoroughly in accord with all the recommendations that have been made by this committee on vocational education, I think that there is much stronger because as education is a matter of public service I think we should lay great emphasis on the statement that all education should come through the public schools. I think that we should say that instead of stating it as it is stated by the committee. Perhaps those who have not been about the country so as to know the real situation do not realize how tremendously important this question is becoming since we have been electing members of school boards in different parts of the United States. In Kansas we have men elected and in control of school boards. Two years ago the Woman's National Committee appointed a committee on this question and that committee has reported to the Woman's National Committee, and we are ready to bring here certain recommendations which we believe are a little more specific, especially

upon the industrial education of girls. That has not been touched upon here, and it is very general in its import.

We have also some recommendations to bring in that we believe to be very specific upon the manner of handling this question of education as a whole. This committee dealt only with vocational education. We should be enlarged. I would like very much, as we do not wish to have our recommendations brought in at this time, I would like the delegates to remember in any discussion upon this matter that there is a second report coming in.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you offer an amendment. The motion has been made to adopt the report.

DEL. M. W. SIMONS: I offer this amendment: That the convention defer action upon this report of the Committee on Vocational Education until this committee from the Woman's National Committee has reported.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. OHSEL (Mass.): I am opposed to these recommendations, No. 5 and No. 6. No. 5 demands that we oppose all legislation giving work to children which does not create social wealth. What do we mean by this lame statement. What is social wealth? What is economic wealth? Who is going to determine which work of children creates wealth and which creates economic wealth? What is industrial and capitalist? It will be decided by and they will determine that any work done by children between five and fourteen years of age creates social wealth. Now, what you are dealing with here is education. Education should not be made work that is social wealth. This is detrimental to the working class. For that reason I move to strike out the fifth recommendation.

Now, as to the ninth recommendation, that is also vague. It says that we should insist upon emphasis being laid upon citizenship, manhood and womanhood. Those words have become really absurd. What does the committee mean by citizenship, manhood and womanhood. We should improve on those words. What do you mean by citizenship? If they mean that citizenship shall be determined by the Y. M. C. A. that is entirely opposed to our idea of citizenship. We cannot trust the present state or any private organization to fine our ideas of citizenship. They are the organization that must direct the coming thinkers of the working class what our conception of true citizenship is. What we mean by good citizenship. But if we simply say that we insist that the public schools shall reach out to the public schools the capitalist controlling bodies will interpret it as they count interpret what the word citizenship means or what violence is, or what necessary means in murder. We would instruct this committee to revise this recommendation and bring in one that will be very plain in its terms. I therefore move to strike out this recommendation.

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. BOHEM (O.): I move that action on the recommendation of this committee be deferred until we receive the report of the special committee from the Woman's National Committee on vocational education.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. J.): I didn't know that we had a woman's committee on education.

THE CHAIRMAN: Perhaps I misunderstood the motion.

DEL. GOEBEL: No. What has the woman's committee to do with this question of education? They are putting into something that we had a special committee appointed to consider.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask Comrade Simons to give me the exact name of that committee.

DEL. M. W. SIMONS: The National Women's Committee appointed a special committee to inquire into the question of industrial education for girls. Two years ago a committee was appointed to investigate that subject and report to the Women's Committee and we have their recommendations to bring before this convention, as a part of the recommendations of the National Women's Committee.

DEL. GOEBEL: I am opposed to waiting for the report of the Women's National Committee before acting upon this matter. I do not believe that this committee properly within the province of the Women's Committee. Anything relating to Socialist Sunday Schools might. In my judgment this up at this time because I believe that the Women's National Committee are attempting to handle many things that do not come properly within their province. They have a special work to do and I think they should stick to it. We have a matter here which has been reported by another committee. Let us settle it and don't let us wait for the suggestions of another committee upon a matter that may be remotely connected with the subject before us.

DEL. STALLARD (Okla.): So far as the right of the Woman's National Committee to handle that question is concerned, I think the work of the Woman's National Committee covers all things that pertain to women generally. And so far as it is to the industrial field, and are to be educated in those schools, I think that it comes within their province, and I believe we should not settle this question highly until we have heard from the Women's Committee; and therefore I am in favor of deferring action until their report is received.

DEL. GIFFS (Colo.): The Woman's National Committee I should like to know what does. I should like to know who there is in all this body the question of the better right to handle people, and especially our young girls, than this same Women's Committee should like to know where you would draw the line on that committee in regard of the young girls of the land? I object most strenuously to this matter being disposed of at this time. I object most strenuously to this report being adopted until after the Woman's National Committee has an opportunity to be heard. I am in favor of that committee will only mean a little time, and they are entitled to this courtesy. It is our right to demand, and you have no right to refuse it.

DEL. MARKIEL (N. Y.): It is not a question of whether the committee or that committee. It is a matter of this convention, before it all the information question has gathered before it decides. Before it can decide you want to know all matter of on this subject. It is only a matter of

a day or two. It makes no difference whether you decide this matter now. The Committee will stay this convention. Don't fear. If you wait you simply get more information. I hope you will defer action on this.

DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): You will remember that when Comrade Strebel read the report, he stated that he would like to have the matter referred back for further consideration. Now the report that we are to have just the information that Comrade Strebel's committee lacked; and thus enable us to take decisive and intelligent action. I add that as an additional point, with all possible information before us, the whole convention will be benefited.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): Will you please tell me the status of the matter at the present time?

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the recommendations of this committee be approved. It has been moved as an amendment that action on this matter be deferred until we receive the report of the Woman's National Committee. The discussion now is on the motion to defer action.

DEL. LEE: I hear cries from various parts of the hall for the previous question. I think that when we were discussing more questions of rules of procedure it was wise to adopt the previous question early in the discussion. But here we have the report of a committee of this body. That committee has considered this matter for two years. They have presented what seems to be a rather carefully worked out report. You have had it read here. Many of you have not listened, and most of you I venture to say have not read the printed report. I did not listen to it. But most of you have done so. Then a committee of you have done more. Then a committee that has important information on the matter before us; and there are very good reasons why that committee should have implicit matter on that question to present; and then some comrades rises and moves the previous question; thus saying that the Woman's Committee should have nothing to do with this; we are going to vote now to defer you cut it that if you vote now to defer you cut off the opportunity to discuss this matter when we have nothing else before us and a good opportunity to discuss the matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion for the previous question has not been made yet. DEL. LEE: The previous question would carry with it the whole matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: No; only the motion to defer, Mr. Lee. If that is your ruling I am willing to have the vote.

DEL. PEACH (Conn.): Had I been given the opportunity I would have accepted the suggestion offered by Comrade Simons, realizing the great importance of this question of education. We have it facing us in our state and it is a very important question. We have it in a form which has been submitted by the Board of Education and adopted by the law, that the children shall be conducted there, and some and the children attend them, and that the other part of the day they shall spend in factories. We believe the recommendation of the committee on social education is that is very important and of this nature. We from Connecticut believe that everything relating to education should re-

ceive the fullest consideration; because it is a practical thing actually confronting us. And I want to say that the question of the industrial education of women and girls is of just as much importance as the education of boys; and therefore I hope that the convention will accede to the request of Comrade Simons, so that we may get all the light possible on the matters contained in this report.

DEL. CASSIDY (N. Y.): It seems to me that the report of Comrade Simons if agreed to will lead to a lot of confusion. The Committee on Education deals specifically with this question. They have considered the question; and have dealt with it in their report. During their deliberations the National Women's Committee, as well as any one else in the Socialist Party had the opportunity to present to that committee all the information they had or could gather on this question. They take up the consideration of the matter on no different report seems to me to lead to loss of time and confusion. What subject are women more interested in? That is the education of children, and especially the industrial education of girls? That is absolutely true. But it is no reason why we should have two committees reporting. It is said that the women are very much interested in the report of our Committee on Immigration. That is absolutely true. But that is no reason for separate reports. Then there is the Committee on the Relationship of the Party to the Labor Unions. They may bring in a separate report on that. Now for the sake of logical and orderly procedure, let us keep consistently and logically to one question so that it may be disposed of. I hope that the motion to defer action until the women report will be defeated.

DEL. ALEXANDER (Tex) moved the previous question. (Seconded.) DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): I am in favor of almost all of the recommendations of this committee. I do not favor the method by which they arrive at their conclusions. If we vote down this motion to defer and take final action on this report, we shall be taking action on something which contains some statements which I do not see how we could approve, unless we can have presented here the data concerning these things. In the report of the committee there are a lot of things that up to date I do not believe can be established to be true. There are positions taken also that any one who has studied industrial education deeply knows are hardly tenable. It is too great a question; it contains too much of moment for it to be disposed of off-hand in a few minutes.

Another thing: The women of the Socialist Party by all means should have something to say on this question. In this line, and I know that when it comes to this question of education in the public school the women have the first and last word. They have it by right. They have been in the main the educators in this country, and the foremost educator in this country today is a woman. By all means this matter should be deferred and all possible information brought in here. If we pass upon this now I want to say that there are even things in this report that the Socialist Party cannot stand for; unless they can be established by the proof to be brought in here. We ought to have everything information. We ought to have everything that the women can give us; as I said before they have the right to what it is. I

hope that we shall vote to defer the matter until the Women's Committee shall be heard.

DEL. GAYLORD: What is the status of this matter now?

THE CHAIRMAN: One speech in opposition to the motion to defer deferring.

DEL. GAYLORD: I am opposed to deferring.

DEL. GOEBEL: Has not Comrade Goebel spoken already?

DEL. GAYLORD: I was the original one to object to waiting. And whether I speak for or not I think we all agree that parliamentary usage would give me the right to conclude.

Now I want to say to the women of this convention and to the women of the Socialist Party—I want to say right here and now—that I refuse to allow the women to claim the children of this country any more than I claim them as a man. (Applause and laughter.) Let us understand each other about this. We have certain definite committees. We have the National Executive Committee; and then we have separate standing and special committees. They have each some duty to perform. The moment they begin to infringe on the duties of other committees that moment we have loss of time, loss of money and confusion. That is the proposition here. Not whether we shall favor this report. Not whether we shall defer further action until we hear from the Women's Committee. There is a good reason for my objection. I understand that the women are bringing in a recommendation on a party separate press. Doubtless they will bring in separate reports on other matters that are of general interest. We have a committee to deal with education. That is their special function. Special propaganda work among the women and children would be a different matter. Let us understand each other. I am not fighting the Women's Committee; I want the national committee to do its business; I want the National Women's Committee to do its business; I want Farmers' Programs to do their business. That is the only way in which we can have business done on a national basis.

DEL. BOLDEN (Co.): I should like to ask when the Women's Committee will be ready to report.

DEL. M. W. SIMONS: Our recommendations are ready. They will be here at the beginning of the next session. We shall submit motion to defer action until after the report of the Women's National Committee had been received. Was then voted upon and declared carried.

CHAIRMAN BARBER: One word, for the benefit of our soap boxers who are going to distribute our philosophy. It is significant that here in this Socialist convention the first subject discussed before the convention is the question of education. It is a remarkable contrast to the subjects discussed in the republican and democratic conventions.

ALLOWANCE FOR SLEEPING CARS TO DELEGATES.

DEL. SPARGO: On behalf of the National Executive Committee I am ready to report on the question of Pullman car allowances to delegates.

The National Executive Committee has considered the matter of the payment of Pullman car fares of the delegates to the convention of the party referred to it by the convention. The National Executive

Committee having considered the matter from the standpoint of principle and the party's finances unanimously recommends to the convention that payment of traveling expenses be interpreted to include not only the bare railroad fare but the necessary conveniences. On behalf of the considerable dissenting Committee I desire to state very briefly our reasons for that decision. In the first place I have no doubt at all that with very few exceptions, by an overwhelming majority of this convention, those of us who have traveled very long distances have done so by way of a sleeper car. We have done this not merely for our own convenience, our desire for luxury, but we have done it in that way in order that we might be efficient and fit to do the work imposed upon us. Now, comrades, there is always the proposition of the man who says that as a working class party we should in all externals represent that working class. I don't care whether that point of view is represented by imagining tools all delegates should come with the night clothing of their craft, or whether it is expressed in the notion that we ought to come in day coaches or on the pumps to underneath the cars. If we possibly can do so. The fact is that is not the working class point of view at all. As a recognized class our supreme business is to build up that effective fighting machine of the working class, and men who come to the convention tired and outworn and weary are not

Chairman Barnes called the convention to order at 2:30 p. m.

LETITISH ORGANIZATIONS.

THE CHAIRMAN: Most of the foreign organizations have submitted in print copies of reports of their respective activities. The Executive Committee of the National Lettish Organization of the S. P. has submitted a report with sundry recommendations, and they ask that it be made part of the record and included in minutes. On motion of Del. Goetzow it was so ordered.

COMMITTEE NOMINATIONS.

The roll of states was called for corrections in the printed list of nominations for the various committees. Several corrections and withdrawals were announced, and the delegates were requested to correct their copies of the ballot accordingly. In consequence of declinations and absences, each committee was left with a prescribed number of the subject of the nominations was reopened.

It was moved that the election of the Committee on Foreign Speaking Organizations be postponed until the other committees have been elected. The election of an amendment was offered that the election of the Auditing Committee take the same course.

An amendment to the amendment was offered that the convention proceed to complete the nominations for all committees and elect. The amendment to the amendment was carried. Del. Dobbs (Ky.) moved that the ballot with the corrections be referred back to the proper committee and repinted, and

*See Appendix O—Editor.

in a position to make the best resistance to the forces of capitalism which can be made.

In the second place, I believe there was a time in this party when it was necessary for us to endure hardships; when our membership was small. There was a time in the history of this party when opposition to our position would have had a considerable basis of reason. But that time is, happily, passed forever.

Finally, comrades, this the twentieth century. And we of the working class demand for ourselves and our class all the advantages of the twentieth century.

Moved and seconded that the report of the National Executive Committee be adopted.

DEL. FLOATON (Colo.): I move to amend that wherever it is possible that they travel in tourist or second class sleepers, because the sleeping is just as good and costs just half as much.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I believe that those have the best right to ride in sleeping cars who build the sleeping cars. The report of the National Executive Committee in regard to payment of Pullman car fares to delegates was then declared adopted.

The Chairman announced that the local committee had made arrangements for a group picture of the convention to be taken in front of the court house immediately after the adjournment.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

placed on the desks of the delegates. Motion lost. National Secretary Work announced the presence of A. F. Casselbury as an alternate from Georgia.

The Chairman called for additional nominations on committees, and the following were made:

AUDITING COMMITTEE.

Former nominations:

Fritz (Miss).

Garrison (Ind.).

Marion (Mo).

National nominations:

Blase (Kansas).

Berents (N. Y.).

COMMITTEE ON REPORTS OF NATIONAL OFFICERS.

Del. Young (Pa.) withdrew his name there being two nominees from Pennsylvania, and he nominated H. W. Houston of West Va.

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Additional nomination:

John Olson (Mass.).

Del. Dunbar moved that inasmuch as a sufficient number of nominations have been made for the Committee on International Relations, that the nominees constitute the committee. Seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS.

Del. Strebel (N. Y.) stated that the Committee on Foreign Speaking Organizations, under the rules, should consist of nine members, while only seven delegates had been nominated, and he moved to complete the nominations. So ordered.

The following additional nominations were made:

Raymond (Ind.)—declined.

Russell (N. Y.)—declined.

Maxwell (Ill.)—declined.

On motion of Del. Bessemer (Pa.) the rules were suspended and the seven nominees elected as the committee.

ELECTION OF COMMITTEES.

It was moved that the respective state delegations tabulate their vote for committees and present the report to the tell-off, accompanied by the individual ballots. An amendment was offered to strike out the words "accompanied by the individual ballots." The amendment was lost.

The original motion was then carried by a vote of 117 for, 110 against.

A recess was taken in order to permit delegates to prepare their ballots. The hour of five o'clock, the time for receiving resolutions, having arrived before votes were tabulated, he was suspended and called for the tabulation of the votes and that the resolutions be received at the close of the session.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Communications were read from the following: Pittsburgh Young People's Socialist League. Referred to Resolutions Committee.

From Carl M. Sandberg, Chicago, relating to a plank in the platform. Referred to Platform Committee.

Resolution adopted by the 25th Ward Branch, Chicago, recommending a plank for the platform. Referred to the Platform Committee.

Resolution signed by Mrs. Charles Keifer, Secretary, in reference to Party press and its conduct. Referred to Press Committee.

Communication from Norfolk, Va., on the subject of party papers. Referred to Press Committee.

Communication from National Lettish Organization in reference to foreign speaking organizations. Referred to Committee on Foreign Speaking Organizations.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a telegram of a controversial nature, assailing the right of a member of this convention to have a voice herein, signed by a partisan. Is it the pleasure of the delegates that the communication be read?

The reading of the telegram was called for by several delegates.

The Secretary began to read. "Denver, Colo., May 12—

THE CHAIRMAN: I stated that there is a telegram of a controversial nature attacking the rights of a member on the floor, and asked whether you desired it read or not.

A delegate moved that it be read. Seconded.

Another delegate suggested that there ought to be a consultation with the state delegation to which the attacked member belongs before the communication is read.

THE CHAIRMAN: Com. Floaton says with authority that it comes from his state.

A DELEGATE: Is this letter from a state convention?

THE CHAIRMAN: No; from a local branch.

A DELEGATE: What right have we to recognize this communication? These delegates are elected by the party.

5,000 locals, and if one should address this convention it would take up all the time.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is but fair to give you the further information that it assails the rights of one who is not a delegate, but one who by courtesy has been given a voice in this convention. I refer to a member of the National Executive Committee. He is not a delegate.

A delegate moved to refer to the Committee on Contested Seats.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no such committee. The motion is that the committee be read.

DEL. MILLER (Nev.): I move as a substitute for the motion that the communication be referred to the delegation from Colorado.

DEL. SPARGO: That would come in the form of an amendment.

DEL. MILLER: All right.

DEL. SPARGO: I move to lay that communication on the table. (Seconded.)

The question was put on the motion to lay on the table.

DEL. COLLINS (Colo.): A point of order on the taking of this vote. You have no right to table this communication till you know what your are tabling.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is no point of order.

The motion to table was then carried by a vote of 128 for, 50 against.

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were then presented and read and referred as respectively noted.

From William H. Prosser. Delegate from Pennsylvania on the liquor traffic. Referred to Platform Committee.

From C. L. Furman, Albert Pulay and E. Lindgren, on behalf of Local Kings County, New York, on behalf of the national machinery of the party to promote private views on party tactics. Referred to the Committee on Constitution.

From Indiana delegation on propaganda among the army, navy, etc. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution submitted by Del. Wheeler of New Jersey on the subject of systematic propaganda. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution submitted by N. Y. on the defense of Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannetti. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution on industrial unionism, submitted by R. J. Wheeler, of Pennsylvania. Referred to Committee on Labor Organizations and Their Relations to the Socialist Party.

Resolution submitted by Del. Walter Lanfester, of Kentucky, on extending financial aid to the party in the southern states.

THE CHAIRMAN: That will be referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

DEL. SPARGO: I move that the resolution be referred to the National Executive Committee. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It is referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. It is the property of this convention. We have a committee handling that subject, the Ways and Means Committee. This is a financial proposition. That is the reference of the chair, unless there is a motion made to some other purpose.

DEL. SPARGO: I have so moved. Com. Chairman, that it be referred to the National Executive Committee. I claim that it is not within the province or scope of the work of the Committee on Ways and Means. The functions of the Committee on Ways and Means is to devise ways and

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means to finance the party. The function of the National Executive Committee is to administer the finances on behalf of the party, and to request for a specific purpose, and ought to be referred to the committee.

DEL. MAHONEY (Mass.): A point of order. We have a Resolution Committee. What is the function of the Resolution Committee unless to pass on just such matters as that. Or is that a point of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. The rules provide that the chair shall make reference without discussion on being asked to the subject matter. But the convention is entitled to make reference as it sees fit.

DEL. MAHONEY: Then I move that it be referred to the Resolution Committee.

DEL. PATTERSON (O.): A point of order. Resolution coming before this body must be referred to the proper committees without discussion, and cannot be acted on by this convention till after they are reported back to the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the judgment of the chair. But a motion is in order to make a reference other than that decided upon by the chair.

DEL. PATTERSON: You hold that a motion is out of order? THE CHAIRMAN: I hold that your point of order is not well taken. It is within the province of the body to make a motion to refer in opposition to the judgment of the chair. The chair's judgment is that it belongs to the Ways and Means Committee.

DEL. PATTERSON: I appeal from the decision of the chair and vice chairman Edwards assumed the chair.

DEL. PATTERSON: The reason I take this position is that this convention has adopted rules to govern the convention, and to allow a motion to be made that sets aside all rules without consideration is not fair to the convention. That is one of the reasons for the convention. That the Executive Committee is not a committee of this convention, and the resolution coming before the convention is the property of the convention and not the property of the Executive Committee or officers of the Socialist Party. The referring of the communication of the resolution to the Executive Committee takes it out of the hands of the convention and leaves it subject to the discretion of the Executive Committee whether they will report back here, whether they will give you a voice in the matter of it. It simply means the pigeonholing of the communication or resolutions that the Executive Committee shall see fit.

A vote was taken on appeal, and the chair was sustained.

THE CHAIRMAN (Del. Barnes): Action recurs upon the motion of Del. Spargo, that this subject be referred to the National Executive Committee.

DEL. MAHONEY: I made an amendment to the motion, that it be referred to the Resolution Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Was that motion seconded, Com. Mahoney's motion to refer to the Resolution Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: Action recurs on Spargo's motion to refer to the National Executive Committee.

DEL. REID (R. I.): I want to say here that I think it is the duty of this convention to refer this resolution as the chairman decides to the Ways and Means Committee of this convention. If they

should see fit to refer it further to the National Executive Committee, they should do it. But this convention should refer it to the Ways and Means Committee of this convention, to let them report on it.

DEL. CLIFFORD (O.): As Com. Spargo, I move that this resolution be referred to the Ways and Means Committee. (Seconded.)

The amendment was carried.

The Secretary next read a resolution submitted by the Oregon delegation. Delegates Dorfman, Hayden, Sherman, Lewis and Kamp, warning others to stay away from the Pacific Coast. Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution to provide a special committee to investigate and report on the subject of establishing a moving picture exchange. Referred to Committee on Ways and Means.

Resolution submitted by Mary L. Gelfs of Colorado, favoring the abolition of capital punishment. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution submitted by Montana delegation, containing declaration on the subject of industrial democracy. Referred to Platform Committee.

Resolution adopted by Missouri state convention protesting against the Root amendment to the Immigration Law now pending in Congress. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposed amendment to Article II, Section 2, of the national constitution, making ineligible to membership any person who principal source of income is derived from rent, interest or profit. Submitted by Del. Bates, Boston, Kate Sadler, Sam Washington, and A. H. Barth, delegates from Washington. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution on Socialist agitation among trade unions and other labor organizations. Submitted by Robert Lawrence of Massachusetts. Referred to Committee on Labor Organizations.

Resolution submitted by Del. J. P. Reid of Rhode Island, to provide each member of the party with a Monthly Bulletin. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution submitted by D. M. Caldwell, Pennsylvania, warning members to beware of all persons who advise violence. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Speech by Oscar Ameringer.

While waiting for the announcement of the vote on committees, Del. Oscar Ameringer of Oklahoma, was called to the platform and spoke as follows:

DEL. AMERINGER: Friends and comrades, I am very sorry that we did not have an opportunity to see you in Oklahoma City instead of this town here for a great many reasons. In the first place, we have an excellent hall down there where we are somewhat in a very peculiar place. It reminds me somewhat of an experience I had coming up from Bloxi, Miss. A fellow Orleans one Sunday night. A fellow got on the train with me. He said, "Some people surely got bad luck." He said, "That is right, that is right." He said, "Some people surely got a hard time." I said, "That is so, being the point I know that a hard time other people have." I said, "That is so, 'What is a man down here in Bloxi says, 'we have a hard time.' He was born deaf and dumb and couldn't hear and couldn't talk. 'Well,' I said, 'that is

hard luck.' He said, 'Yes, and some time ago he broke his leg, and we fixed it up as good as we knew how, and it was all right, so that they took him up to New Orleans and shaved his leg off. Now he is deaf and dumb, can't hear, can't talk, and only has one leg, and yesterday they brought him home, and he got blind drunk and is worse than hell now.'"

Now, comrades, we are somewhat in the same kind of predicament in this hall here. We are all here, and we are all talking and everybody is hollering until the blood goes up to the head, and I am afraid we will be—well, not crazier than that other place, but it will be bad enough after awhile.

In the meantime, comrades, just put on smiling countenances. There is absolutely no reason in God's creation why some of you Socialist delegates should have faces that long (illustrates). You make awful faces, very bitter faces. Are you aware of the fact that the whole Socialist movement is nothing but a movement for joy, for happiness, for health, for laughter, for flowers, and for the good things of earth in general? (Applause.)

Now, I don't want you to take yourselves too dogged, serious. Because, remember that this world rolled on for a couple of years before you were born, and it is going to roll on for a few years after you are gone. Remember that the whole Socialist movement at this critical time does not rest on your shoulders exclusively. (Laughter.)

Aye, friends, even Karl Marx died, and the Socialist movement went on. And if some of you don't get exactly what you want, you most likely don't feel it because it is not coming to you. (Laughter.) And I don't think you have to have a different idea than you have now, though you are thoroughly convinced that you are the only second infallible person in action, remember that the majority may be right after all, and just take things easy and take it with a smile on your face.

My particular mission in the Socialist movement for the last couple of years has been to get sufficient activity in your faces so you could crack a smile once in awhile. Sometimes our friends, our Socialists even, are very unsocial Socialists. We come into a meeting like this, and instead of being happy that there are so many of us, instead of being happy that they are having 140,000 party members and going to have 1,200,000 votes, instead of being happy after we have carried town after town and city after city, why, do you know what you talk about? About slavery and feudalism and capitalism. You live in the past instead of living today. This is the best world I ever got into, in spite of the fact that it is run by the capitalist class. I am satisfied that the capitalist has been a damned sight better to us than the feudal lord has been or the slave owner. (Laughter.)

And the further back you go the worse it gets. Now, here we are, working people, most of us stopping at pretty fair prices, rent we are eating good food, getting 30,000 years ago, instead of suffering with our friends.

So you see, friends, considerable progress has been made. The further back you go the worse it gets, and the further you go the better it gets. I want to give you that face broader. I want to give you scientific advice to a great many of you Socialists here: the advice that I have come to the conclusion that the only salvation of our movement is to eat more, and think more and get fatter. (Applause.)

Keep your eyes on the future. There are many days of fighting ahead of us, and it is the fight itself that gives the great pleasure, understand. It is the struggle itself, the class struggle, that can be fought in such a manner as will repay us for all our trouble. As soon as the working class fights with a smiling face, as soon as we are in a position where we can laugh at all opposition, as soon as that time comes, it is a poverty, and not crime. (Applause.)

Take it easy boys, take it easy. Don't think that if the working class is not organized according to a certain way it will ruin everything. It is not going to. Don't think that if this or that resolution is killed the labor movement is killed. No, remember we are the child of necessity. We are the child of the capitalist system, and that system is better than anything we had, and we are going to be better than that. We are the child of necessity. The Socialist movement has its foundation in a very simple thing, and that is the desire of the working people to live as good as the people who don't work. (Applause.)

It is so fundamental, it is so elementary. What we want is to live better, to live happier, to enjoy life. I want to say to some of our dogged Socialists, don't make such sour faces and spoil the milk that way. (Laughter.) You are not going to catch flies with vinegar, and if you want to catch bear fish hooks or molasses, you don't take fish hooks or vinegar, do you. Now, friends, be cheerful about the thing, and don't quarrel much, and when you do quarrel put on a smiling face. It don't hurt, and the more you smile the fatter you get. Look at me. (Laughter and applause.)

SPARGO: Com. Chairman, there was an order of the International Committee of the National Executive Committee we would proceed with the reception of the fraternal delegates. I see that one of the fraternal delegates is in the hall. Com. Pettigrew of the Canadian Socialist Party. I think we should hear from Com. Pettigrew.

ADDRESS OF GEORGE PETTIGREW.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade George Pettigrew, of the Canadian Socialist Party is with us. In accordance with the expression of the delegates and the arrangement of the program, I bid him welcome in behalf of the Socialist Party, and give him an opportunity to present his message at this time. (Applause.)

Comrade George Pettigrew then addressed the convention.

COMRADE PETTIGREW: Mr. Chairman and comrades, in coming from the other side of the line, it is rather unfortunate that we of the Canadian Socialist Democratic Party had not a convention in time to appoint a representative to speak here. However, I have been here doing business as an executive member of the United Mine Workers of America, and I have been asked to speak to the Socialists here on behalf of the comrades on the Canadian side.

Comrades, I have not been able to show the same progress as is shown here at this convention. We have had our difficulties over there, but I am pleased to say to the comrades here that for the first time in history we have now got on the right lines of a real

Social-Democratic party. (Applause.) The Socialist party of Canada for ten or twelve years has been the dominant party. They have been pretty much a disruptive party rather than a party who have meant to build up the organization, and because of the methods employed by that party two other existing organizations were formed two years ago, but by the referendum vote six months ago the Socialist-Democratic Party and the Canadian Socialist Federation went together, and consequently we find that since that time thousands have joined the organization. (Applause.)

We as a Social-Democratic party in Canada realize that if progress is to be made by the Socialist movement it must embrace every other emancipation of the working object the emancipation of the working class. And we are pleased to say that this new movement which has been established in Canada has made up its mind to work hand in hand with our fellow workers in the organizations who are engaged on the industrial field. We recognize today that even though the political issue is one of the issues for the emancipation of the workers, that for the workers themselves must take the position that if we can do something with the right hand, if we can do something with the left, that both must be used, and because we recognize that the capitalist class are organized on the industrial side on the political field, and they sometimes use force against the workers, we do not advocate force in any way, but the position that we take over there is that whatever weapon the capitalist class are prepared to use to defeat the workers, the workers must use the same weapon in order to defeat the capitalist class. (Applause.)

However, I do not know that I can talk too much on the history of the party. As I say, I am pleased to be here, to stand on this platform at the convention of the American Socialist Party. It is only ten years since I left Great Britain and came to the American continent, and I am now familiar with the organization on the other side of the Atlantic than with the organization on this side, but I am pleased to say that since I have come to this hall I have met the second comrade whom I heard lecture on Socialism that was in far away Scotland, in (Applause.) to Comrade Spargo.

Comrades, if you care I should like to say something relative to the British movement rather than the Canadian, since I have spent the greater part of my lifetime working in that movement. We are beginning to recognize the workers are beginning to world where the workers are beginning to organize whether it be on the industrial or the political field. We are beginning to recognize over in that country now that to have millions of unemployed men and thousands upon thousands of starving children. We are beginning to recognize on the American continent here that because of those unemployed men and because of those starving children that men like myself are compelled to seek a new land, a new home, but because of economic conditions like many more, I was compelled to come to the American continent. And what do we find? We find the capitalist in the United States side, throwing out every possible inducement they can at the present time to the workers in Great Britain, telling them of the splendid and glorious advantages to be gained on the American and Canadian

continent. But what do we find? We find that many of those people who would listen to the questing of Socialism when we were propagating Socialism on the other side of the ocean, when they have been brought to face with the issue of capitalism and found that the capitalist class is just as merciless on this side as on the other side, then they are compelled to vote, then they are compelled to act, then they are compelled to advocate industrial organization and join the Socialist Party; and because of those results we find the movement on both sides, on the Canadian side and the United States side, growing by leaps and bounds at the present time. (Applause.)

But, fellow workers, we are pleased to see when we look at any part of the world that the movement is also growing there. When we look at Great Britain and see and examine the conditions that have confronted the people and the action that the workers have taken in order to defeat the capitalist class during the past twelve months, to me, at least, they are signs that it will not be many years till the workers of all countries will take the same action as has been taken in Britain during the past twelve months, and as I have said many times, I believe that if I live ten years more I will have to see the workers under a Socialistic regime. (Applause.)

Only some twenty years ago, in Britain, we did not find the workers organized in small craft organizations. We found that when men came to contest a political seat on behalf of the workers, they were not regarded in any way. But, because of the fact that the capitalist class with the wealth which continually improving machinery, the improved machinery means greater production of commodities, which on the other hand, means more poverty for the workers. But the workers have learned some lessons over there. They have begun to recognize that those little strikes have ceased to be of any use whatever; they are now beginning to recognize that it is no use for men connected with one part of an industry to strike while some men connected with another part of that same industry remain at work. Only ten years ago over there when we first began to talk of this it was said to be useless. We began to see how it worked in the building trades, for example. When the masons came out on strike the carpenters, plumbers, painters and other workers remained at work, and the masons would lose their strike. Then the other crafts were likewise attacked. This went on until we have come to the point where the workers there are ready for the vote.

But because of those lessons that have been learned, what do we find at the present time? We find that those crafts have linked up into one organization. The place of the ship building trades having fifteen separate organizations as they had five years ago, we find that they are now one organization. (Applause) In place of the men in the building trades having thirteen separate organizations, we find the same thing applies; one building organization, and when the employers wish to fight, we have the one great gigantic struggle that has taken place during the past twelve months, when the dock men and the railway men and the miners have been

out, when the military was brought out as usual to beat the workers down, we found something more in the month of March last year when the military was sent into South Wales. We found that for the first time in history one man who wore the uniform of the King refused to shoot his fellow workers. (Applause) This fellow workman, who refused to shoot his fellow workers at the command of his commanding officer, was placed under arrest. After he was arrested he made up his mind that he would desert, and he did desert. He was sent into the city of Glasgow, but after he had got to his home in the city of Glasgow, a detachment of the military arrested him. There were two charges against him. One charge was refusing to obey the command of his superior officer when asked to shoot men belonging to the railway brotherhood. The second charge against him was that he had deserted from his regiment. The Socialist party began to take up the question, and what was the result? After they had taken up the matter and began to accumulate funds in order to see that this young man got a fair trial, the authorities were so cowardly because they were afraid of the effect on the military in other parts of the country that they dropped the first charge and tried him on the second and gave him seven days' imprisonment. (Applause.) A few days ago Comrade Mann asked the military not to use their arms against the workers during the miners' strike, and for that he has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Personally, I believe that Mann is proud that he is in prison because he asked the military to refuse to shoot. And what is curious every Socialist is proud of the fact that the military is beginning to recognize that it has been hunger that compelled them to go into the ranks of the army.

We begin to recognize all the forces which are at work, and more especially when we recognize that in the month of November last year, after found another elections came on, then those people who had been starving and fighting during the early part of the year, those people who had had policemen's clubs beaten on their heads, what did we find them doing? We found they had not only begun to act together on the industrial field, but we found that in place of the Labor Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Clarion Scouts and other organizations fighting separately as they had been doing before, they had come together and formed what is now known as the British Socialist Party. (Applause.) And, comrades, what did we find? At the annual elections no less than 137 candidates were put in the field, and out of the 137 there were 85 returned, to the municipal chambers. (Applause.) Once we find the working class beginning to organize and fight on the industrial field as they have been doing, once we begin to see them learning the lessons of the capitalist class, once those people begin to see that with all the powers they possess nothing can defeat the working class when a strike does take place; when we see those workers linking up into one organization as they are doing; and when as a result of their seeing up in industrial organizations and then fellow workers, there is hope. I say, in conclusion, fellow workers, I only hope that you will carry through your deliberations without any quarrels; that

you will have no quarrels on the question of physical or industrial action; that you will show to the capitalist class in the world all the whole capitalist class in the world has its eyes on this small body at the present time—that you will do your business and show them that the party is going to be the power of the future; that even now we can teach them lessons; and that within the next six months, as a result of this splendid convention, we will poll two or three million votes on the American continent. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Vice-Chairman Edwards will respond.

RESPONSE BY VICE-CHAIRMAN EDWARDS:

VICE-CHAIRMAN EDWARDS: Comrades, by request of the chairman of the convention, I greet Comrade Spargo in your behalf and in doing so show that our brother from Canada has not of the United States where we are now meeting, but from the uttermost end of the country, not only as a delegate from the Socialist Party of Texas, do of "valerity" from our southern brethren to the northern comrades. And the feeling of "valerity" as suggested by the Comrade Ammerger should exist for several reasons. One is that the committee engaged in tabulating the votes will soon report and we will be able to go home to support. The other is that we have seen from the remarks of our comrade from the Mine Workers of Canada that all over the world the workers are joining hands to put an end to war. And when an Englishman becomes an advocate of peace, and his hand is joined by a democrat from Texas, or an ex-démocrat from Texas, in an advocacy of peace, surely, I believe it is an augury of the world peace that is sure to come. (Applause.) We should feel also in element of satisfaction, for Comrade of the Socialist Party, but a representative of the one union that has known of the industrial field; and I believe organization is due to the fact that it attempted to its own business on the industrial field. (Applause.) The three workers have given us a practical illustration that industrial unionism, when it comes, will come from the workers themselves without much aid from outsiders. And so, again, I believe that Party, and certainly of the Socialist Party of Texas, when we express our welcome and our gratification at having our comrade here present with us. (Applause.)

Del Reynolds of Indiana moved that we now hear Comrade De Larra of Mexico. (Seconded.)

Del Spargo moved to amend that we set the first order of business tomorrow morning for hearing Comrade De Larra in order to give him more time to deliver his message. (Seconded.)

The amendment was carried.

ELECTION OF COMMITTEES.

The tellers then reported the vote on the various committees, as follows:

Committee on Co-operatives, seven members:
W. L. Gaylord, Wis. 193
Emma D. Cory, Wash. 172
E. I. Lindgren, N. Y. 162

Caleb Lipscomb, Mo.	158
J. T. Cumble, Okla.	149
L. W. Lang, Iowa	143
E. E. Powell, Ohio	142
Committee on State and Municipal Pro-	
gram, nine members:	
Carl D. Thomson	213
Anna A. Maley	203
John C. Kennedy	176
Margaret L. Prevey	170
Roscoe E. Dooley	147
Edwin J. Brown	142
George W. Downing	123
Thomas M. Todd	120
W. W. Farmer	83
Committee on Party Press, nine mem-	
bers:	
Mary E. O'Reilly	207
E. A. Maynard	169
W. A. Jacobs	163
J. L. Bachman	162
Meyer London	152
Theresa Malkiel	152
William M. Wesley	152
C. E. Owens	149
S. E. Beardsley	147
Fred Kratt	117
Delegates London and Malkiel being	
from the same state Delegate Kratt was	
named the ninth member of the Committee	
The chairman stated that two of the	
candidates for Committee on State and	
Municipal Program, Delegates Maley and	
Brown being from the state of Washington,	
under the rules, Delegate Brown having the	
smaller vote, would be dropped from the	
committee, and W. W. Farmer would con-	
stitute the ninth member.	
The vote reported by the tellers on the	
Committee on Resolutions, nine members,	
was as follows:	
Joseph E. Cohen	176
John Spargo	168
George E. Roewer	163
Ben Wilson	151
E. H. Thomas	148
Henry L. Stobodin	148
W. P. Collins	138
E. R. Melzer	111
John G. Willis, Okla.	107

Committee on Ways and Means, nine	
members:	
Arthur Le Sneur	190
Max Boehm	181
O. S. Watkins	173
George N. Bacon	177
E. S. Reagan	173
Margaret D. Brown	166
L. B. Irvin	166
Isaac F. Stewart	151
Miles C. Jones	148
Committee on Platform, nine members:	
Charles Edward Russell	219
Victor J. Berger	204
James E. Carey	189
Stitt Wilson	177
William J. Chent	164
L. J. Duncan	139
Dan Hogan	126
Charles Dobbs	126
A. W. Ricker	118
Committee on Labor Organizations and	
Their Relations to the Socialist Party, nine	
members:	
Oscar Amelinger	177
James H. Maurer	172
Dan White	164
Algeron Lee	153
William E. Rodriguez	141
Job Harriman	126
Robert Lawrence	112
Thomas Clifford	107
Fred Merrick	107
T. J. Lewis	98
T. A. Hickey	97

Of the candidates for this committee, it appearing that White and Lawrence were both from Massachusetts and that Maurer and Merrick were both from Pennsylvania, the Chairman stated that under the rules the smaller number of votes, would be dropped, and Lewis and Hickey were included in the list to complete the committee.

The Chairman declared that the delegates reported by the tellers would constitute the respective committees of the convention. The convention then adjourned until 10 o'clock Tuesday morning.

THIRD DAY'S SESSION.

Del. Barnes, Chairman of yesterday, called the convention to order at 10 o'clock A. M., and called for nominations for Chairman of the day. The following delegates were nominated:

O. Branstetter (Okla.) Accepted.
Beardsley (Conn.) Accepted.
Slayton (Pa.) Accepted.
Goebel (N. J.) Declined.
Richardson (Cal.) Declined.
Richardson (Wis.) Declined.
The vote resulted as follows: Branstetter, 23; Beardsley, 13; Slayton, 56; Goebel, 23. Delegate Branstetter was declared elected Chairman of the day.

Report Vice-Chairman the following nomi-

nations were made:

Anna Maley (Wash.) Declined.
Harold Houston (W. Va.) Absent.
May Wood Simons (Kan.) Declined.
There being no acceptances, Del. Killingbeck (N. J.) moved that the candidate receiving the next highest vote for Chairman be Vice-Chairman. Motion seconded.

Del. Hillquit spoke against the motion. The motion was lost by a vote of sixty-four to eighty-one. Nominations for Vice-Chairman were then resumed, and the following delegates were nominated:

Slayton (Pa.) Declined.
Gessidy (N. Y.) Declined.
Coonrod (Ida.) Declined.
Zitt (Ohio) Declined.
Maley (Wash.) Accepted.
Goebel (N. J.) Declined.
Prevey (Ohio) Declined.
Del. Anna A. Maley of Washington, being the only candidate, was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman for the day.

Del. Kate Sadler (Wash.) in the press only delegates and reporters for the press be admitted to the floor of the convention. The motion was opposed by several dele-

gates, and was lost.

Del. Bessemer (Ohio) moved that all persons be excluded from the floor of the convention except delegates and their wives, or husbands and representative for the press.

On motion of Del. Young (Pa.) the motion was laid on the table.

Del. Richardson (Cal.) moved to dispense with the reading of the minutes of yesterday.

Del. Strebel (N. Y.) moved that all amendments or corrections of the minutes be taken up and made at the close of the day's session, and to be made a special order at that time.

Del. Stobodin (N. Y.) moved to amend that delegates desiring to make corrections or amendments to the minutes hand them in, submitting to the Secretary at the close of the session.

Del. Strebel accepted the amendment, and the motion as amended was carried.

ADDRESS OF GUITEPEREZ DE LARFA OF MEXICO.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first order of business this morning is to hear the fraternal delegate from Mexico, Comrade De Larra.

Comrade De Larra took the platform amid great enthusiasm and spoke as follows:

COMRADE DE LARRA: Comrade Chairman and comrades, I come here to this convention as a fraternal delegate of the Socialist Party in Mexico. I have a mission in coming to this convention. Our comrades in Mexico have endorsed the principles of the revolution. I would better say they have endorsed the revolution since the beginning. Why? Nearly half of our population there who are class-conscious Socialists are in the revolution, fighting. They called on me to come here and to ask you to you about our revolution, and to ask you to pass some energetic resolutions in regard to the revolution.

Comrades, the revolution in Mexico is a fight of the past hundred years. It is the fight of the farmers, the tillers of the soil, who became the owners of the lands that they are tilling. A hundred years ago the revolution in Spain was carried out by the tillers of the soil to get the lands from the big land owners in Mexico at that time. The big land owners were the church and the aristocracy. After ten years of revolution independence was recognized. But the revolutionists were not wise enough to carry out the revolution in a practical way. They were tender and satisfied to have an independent country and a free, been fighting for such a small Mexico as to calling themselves citizens of Mexico and to have a flag. So they went ahead with the revolution, and about fifteen years later, that is, in the year 1834, the revolutionists were very nearly in a condition to take away the land from the church and give it to the common people. If they have not accomplished this, why have they not? Because the church was not only the big land owner in Mexico, that country, and you know how science in that country, and you know how hard it is for the agitator to take away from a man the idea of his wealth in heaven and his poverty on earth. (Applause.)

But in the year 1832 or 1833 the Mexican people were able to elect a president, whose work was to decrease the Mexican people had no government that could compel them to pay taxes to the church. This revolutionary decree of that revolutionary president aroused to the highest degree the indignation of the church, and then the church went to work and was able to bring as president a man that came to enforce the rights of the church and those of the aristocracy. But this man found that he was unable to enforce those rights destroying the rights of the revolutionists, and found that their hearts and that passion was patriotism, and the patriotism was aroused in the Mexican people to become an American nation.

In the meantime in the United States the business this morning is to hear the fraternal delegate from Mexico, Comrade De Larra.

power of slavery, tried to arouse the patriotism of the American people by an international war. There was a common understanding between the slave owners in the United States and the land owners in Mexico that an international war would make the common ownership of Mexico forget the issue of the ownership of the Mexican lands and make the emancipation of the slaves (Applause). The people in both countries were to be induced to go and fight and destroy each other like wild beasts in order to satisfy in Mexico the great ambition of the aristocracy and the church and in order to satisfy in the United States the great ambition of the slave holders.

After the war was over, the Mexican people, defeated, were unable to carry on the revolutionary issue of the ownership of the land by the tillers of the soil. Why? The American people were Tories. They were Tories because the fight with Mexico was only for the purpose of enforcing slavery. That was the kind of victory that was gained by the American people. After the big victory was decided, the American people of the South fought with the American people of the North over the issue of freeing the negro slaves. But, after the negro slaves had been freed there remained necessary another fight in this country in order to free you slaves. (Applause.)

So, after the war was over, another revolution started in Mexico. The platform of that revolution, which was in 1851-2, was that the Mexican people needed another constitution, because the old constitution proclaimed in the first years of independence was a constitution in which were recognized the rights and privileges of the church and of the aristocracy, and this new revolution of the times was for the purpose of giving up this old constitution and framing a new constitution that would embody the necessities and the aspirations of the common people in Mexico. That new constitution was proclaimed in the month of February, 1857 and that constitution gave to us all the freedom that we needed, free speech, free press and free compulsory free education. But the great point in this constitution was that it took away the land from the church, proclaiming that the church, being a divine institution, had not the right to own anything else. So about two and a half to three millions of tillers of the soil thus became owners of independent lands.

Immediately on the adoption of this constitution, the wealthy class of Mexico, the church and the aristocracy, found that a tremendous blow had been struck against them. The church and aristocracy claimed the army in Mexico in those years. The army in Mexico, as everywhere in the world, has been the most dangerous foe of the world, emancipation of the people. The church and aristocracy claimed the army, and the army started a series of military riots in order to be prepared to destroy the lives of three million tillers of the soil who were now free and independent men. There was a civil war of three years between the church and army and the common people, and after three years of civil war the common people were able to entirely defeat the church and the aristocracy. When the church and aristocracy surrendered, then they sent delegates to Europe to ask help in order that the European powers might send their armies to Mexico for the purpose of restoring the lands to the church and to the aristocracy.

In the year 1861, England, France and Spain agreed to send their armies to Mex-

ico, and those armies were sent. But as mistake as England and Spain realized their mistake and the trouble they were likely to have on their hands, they withdrew their armies. But France, ruled by Napoleon III—the Teddy Roosevelt of those years in France (Applause)—France invaded Mexico and placed Emperor Maximilian in power. This invasion was nothing else but a tool used by the Mexican church and Mexican aristocracy, and a tool also used by the Pope of Rome and the Emperor of France in order that they might come and, in the name of some farcical laws, take away the lands from the common people and restore them to the church and aristocracy. (Applause.)

This international war lasted about nine years, and you who read Mexican history from an economic standpoint can see how by this time the Mexican people had twice been able to accomplish the fact of giving the lands to the common people. A foreign invader had come into Mexico, but had been compelled to surrender after, having come to give back the lands to the church and aristocracy. That has been the policy of the French war was over the Mexican people were entirely broken down by those nine years of war. A republic was established and the people began to take up the question of the lands.

But after a few years the church took back the stranger and allied with the aristocracy and allied with the army and with the soldiery, who, at the time of the French war, started a series of military riots against the rule of the common people, for the purpose of gaining the ownership of the lands of the common people. After a while they succeeded and gained power, but they were foxy enough to understand that by this time the church was not in condition to become the owner of the land, and then they took this land from the common people and gave it back to the favorites. That was the only cause of the despotism maintained by Diaz during the thirty years in which he carried on his military despotic autocracy.

Comrades, a year and a half ago another revolution started, with the same old question, the lands for the common people. That was the only purpose of the revolution, and will be the only purpose of any revolution in Mexico. Mr. Madero, today's president in Mexico, came to the revolutionary movement at the last moment of the revolution. This has been the case with other revolutionists in Mexico. We, the old revolutionists, the pioneers of the revolution, know that Madero will be unwilling and unable to accomplish a solution of the question of the ownership of the lands by the common people. But the Mexican masses, who have not as much experience as we may have, were unwilling to have Madero as president to stop the revolutionary movement without taking away the lands by force from the common people, and to see if Madero could settle the question of the lands. But, fortunately, the common people in Mexico were quick to realize that this question of the lands can not be settled by one individual, that it had to be settled by themselves, and nobody went ahead with the revolution, and that is the purpose of the present revolution in Mexico.

Madero belonged to a very wealthy family of multimillionaires. They owned immense tracts of land in Mexico, and does anybody suppose that Mr. Madero and his

father and grandfather and children, and grandchildren and his nephews and cousins and relatives are going to give up graciously their lands to the common people? They are not. So the revolution is now in a critical moment. Right now our comrades are fighting in Mexico, and in a few days more they will succeed in this revolution and will give the lands to the common people. (Applause.) Yes, the revolutionists have agreed among themselves to give the lands to the common people as soon as they take De la Torre, Khabibullin, got to a place right now where he is soon to be in the northern part of Mexico, so as they take this place they will begin to confiscate the lands. That means they will recognize the right of the tiller of the soil to be the owner of the land that he is tilling. (Applause.)

In Mexico the big land owners used to give to every peon a small patch of land and the peon had to use this patch of land and give half of the crop to his master. And besides that, there is another big patch of land reserved by the owners of the land on which the peon, besides giving half of the crop from his patch of land, worked for 25 cents a day for his food and master. But since the beginning of the revolution, one year and a half ago, there have been a great many peons that are peons no more. They consider themselves as the owners of the patch of land, and they have been raising the crops on those patches and taking the crops for themselves because the masters have no more policemen or soldiers to compel them to give the half crop to the masters. (Applause) the revolution is going to succeed. In the next two or three months there will be a beginning, at least in the division of the lands, and before the revolution is accomplished. After that, under this agreement of the leaders of the revolution, will come a government, elected, of course, by these small land owners, and this government will legalize this part of the revolution that has been accomplished. It is no question that the government is going to divide the lands. The lands are going to be taken by the men themselves, going to be taken by the men themselves, and that has been done. That is the scheme; what has been done. That is the scheme; that is the plan of the revolution.

About two weeks ago a man came to Chinuhua and called himself Provisional president of Chinuhua, of Mexico. The revolutionists told him, "We do not need any more provisional presidents. We are not fighting for provisional presidents; we are fighting for the lands, and so you get out of here." (Applause.) The man was already indicted by the American government, and so he chose to be a political prisoner. And right now he is a political prisoner. You see how the revolution can make political prisoners, too. It is a much better way than political prisoners are made in the United States.

Well, in this revolution, comrades, there will be no one man, there will be no individual. Right now you know about that man Orozco, who appears as leader of the revolutionists; and certainly Orozco is nothing else but one of the many in the future and if Orozco tries some time in the future to impose his will against the purpose of the revolution Orozco will not last a day before he will be hanged by the revolution. (Applause.)

So the issue is very clear now. The division of the lands will be accomplished. The revolution will be successful, but there is the threat of the old times, the American

government doing everything possible to interfere in Mexico, with the only purpose to compel the Mexican workers to serve the interests of the masters and to protect the property of the masters and to protect the property of the American citizens. They say that the intervention of the American government will be only for the purpose of protecting American life and American property in Mexico, but it will be with the purpose of carrying on the issue so that it is well understood by the master class, and that issue is that the class-conscious master class in the United States feel the necessity of helping their brothers, the master class of Mexico. (Applause.)

Comrades, I recognize that American life in Mexico is very well protected. The only thing endangering American life in Mexico is the American government, by its foolishness and its stupidity, telling the American people in Mexico to go back to the United States; while in fact there are lots of Americans in Mexico who have as much business there and who are doing just as well as the Americans, and who are showing how the American government with its talk of intervention is arousing the ire of the Mexican people, and they see that they will be the first victims of the stupidity of the American government. The Americans do not want to be saved by the American government, and they will remain in Mexico. About three weeks ago my wife and myself were on the battlefield and there was an American woman, a wife asking her, "Don't board house. My life is in danger? Don't you feel that your life is in danger? Don't you feel that you would like to go to the United States? And the woman said, 'United States? I have I go to the United States? What business no business there. Even if it sometimes happens that I will go to the United States, I will have to carry my Mexican coffee because in the United States there is no good coffee for me, and I stay here. Of course, business is not good, but I stay here.' In the meantime, about ten days ago, from her house, the revolutionists were riding on horseback and making themselves ready for the next battle. That woman will be as safe in Mexico as she can woman in the United States. (Applause.)

So, comrades, I feel that this question of intervention, from the standpoint of the Socialist Party, may be one of the most serious questions covered by your resolutions. You can see how, three times in the last thirty years, France and Germany have been very near to having an international war, and how the French Socialists and German Socialists have taken a very energetic attitude against their governments in order to prevent international war, and how the comrades in Germany have gone so far as to threaten Emperor William with order line to France. (Applause.) They know that if German soldiers crossed the border into France, the issue, and we know stand very well the issue, and we know too, that when the American soldier crosses the boundary line into Mexico into pockets to support him comes from your class, and when American soldiers are sent to Mexico the government is sending men of your class to go to Mexico to compel Mexican workmen to starve to death or suffer for their lives to be destroyed. I feel that this is just the time for the Socialist Party of the United States to take the most energetic stand against this question of intervention. This is the time for the Socialist Party of the United States to stand together and pass the most energetic resolutions against this monkey business of the American government. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been moved. I rule you out of order, Comrade Clifford.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): I desire to speak in opposition to this entire report. I do not agree with the comrades here that this convention should go on record simply as demanding industrial education for our boys and girls. I do not wish, as a member of the Socialist Party, to go on record through our convention as favoring the training of our boys and girls merely for the purpose of making them more efficient servants to a master class. I want them to have the highest industrial education. But it is practically useless for us even to demand that until we get control of our public schools system. When we have done that we can put into operation any policy that we see fit in the meantime all of this matter should be hammered down to the one main demand: for the industrial education of the boys and girls of this working class and let it go at that. This report is entirely too complex. There is too much verbiage there. It sounds nice but it does not mean much. Simmer these things down; get down to brass tacks. Get something practicable.

DEL. MAY WOOD SIMONS: The Women's National Committee considered this question carefully of having a committee elected by the convention or appointed by the National Executive Committee. The last educational committee was appointed by the National Executive Committee. It admits that it never met. So far as the contention of Comrade Lee is concerned, it has not been shown that a committee appointed by the National Executive Committee would do any better work than a committee elected by this convention. I want to see this convention elect its own Education Committee. That is one objection to Comrade Lee's amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The vote now occurs on the motion to refer the whole matter to a committee to be appointed by the National Executive Committee.

The substitute motion to refer to a committee to be appointed by the National Executive Committee was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: That substitute being lost the convention on the original motion with which I am now familiar. The Secretary will please read the motion now before the house.

The Secretary proceeded to read the recommendation in the supplementary report of the Women's Committee, but was interrupted by several delegates demanding a division of the substitute of Comrade Lee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there fifty delegates who demand a division?

DEL. DUFFY (N. Y.): A point of order. I believe the Chair is in error there. Whether it will make any difference in this case or not, I do not know, but a division does not require any specified number. It is a roll call that requires 50.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken, and if the division is still demanded it will be taken.

Division was demanded, and the vote resulted 55 for the substitute and 143 against, so the substitute was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have just gone over the minutes, and it appears that there has been no previous motion. What was before the house was the recommendation in the supplementary report by the Women's Committee, and this substitute on which we have just voted was simply moved as a substitute for the first section, and that having been defeated this report that has been made is before you.

Del. Strickland (Ohio) moved the adoption of the report. Seconded.

Del. Slobodin (N. Y.) moved as an amendment that the report be taken up and adopted seriatim.

Amendment accepted as part of the original motion.

DEL. SPARGO: I move as an amendment that we accept the report as a whole. (Seconded.) I do so with a view to its subsequent reference to a new committee.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): A point of order. We are a little confused now. We have a motion to adopt the original report of the committee and some amendments to it. I remember Comrade Ohl of Massachusetts made an amendment. Now, then, a new report comes in and there is a motion to adopt this report.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, this is the same report, I understand.

DEL. SLOBODIN: No, there is a motion to adopt the report of the committee with amendments to it, and now there is a new report with a new motion to adopt, and seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us straighten this out. Comrade delegates on the floor state that there was a motion to adopt the original report of the Committee on Education, and there were several amendments to that, and they were pending.

DEL. STREIBEL (N. Y.): I move to amend that we elect this committee at present, and refer the report to that committee to act.

THE CHAIRMAN: That amendment is out of order. The convention has just voted on the question of appointing that committee, and voted it down.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): No, I beg your pardon.

DEL. MAY WOOD SIMONS (Kan.): I move as a substitute for the whole that we elect in this convention a committee of seven to handle the educational question.

DEL. BESSEMER (Ohio): A point of order. You claimed that we had decided not to elect a committee. We decided that the Executive Committee should not appoint. We did not decide that the convention shall not elect a committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: I stand corrected. I move as an amendment that this convention elect a committee, a different committee to consider the (Section), and that that committee report.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have before us the report of Comrade Simons, with a motion that it be adopted seriatim, with an amendment by Spargo that be accepted as a whole, with an amendment by Slobodin of Ohio that a committee be elected to consider the whole matter. The last amendment on the election of the committee by the convention, is before you.

The previous question was ordered, and the amendment offered by Del. Bessemer was carried. Nominations for the committee were called for.

DEL. DUFFY: I would like to know whether the nominations to this committee are to be confined to the delegates of this convention. As it is a committee that is to serve over a period of two years, I understand it ought not to be confined necessarily to delegates to this convention. I would like a ruling.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will rule, unless a chairman to the contrary is made as an original motion, that members of the

committee must be delegates in this convention.

The following nominations for the committee were made:

Streibel, New York.
Seidel, Wisconsin.
May Wood Simons, Kansas.
George Clifton Edwards, Texas.
Mary L. Gerts, Colorado.
Morris Kaplan, Minnesota.
Henry L. Slobodin, New York.
Whinnie E. Branstetter, Oklahoma.
Dr. Rosette, Maryland.
N. A. Richardson, California.
John G. Olms, Massachusetts.
I. Spargo, Vermont.
J. Clifford, Ohio.
James A. Smith, Utah.
John Slattery, Pennsylvania.
Albin C. Englund, Maryland.
J. Stitt Wilson, California.
G. H. Lockwood, Michigan.
Anna K. Storck, Ohio.
R. J. Wheeler, Pennsylvania.

It was moved and seconded to close the nominations. Carried.

It was also moved that in reading the names of nominees for this committee the occupations of the candidates be stated.

Del. Collins moved to amend that the names be printed, together with the occupations, and placed on the desks of the delegates in the morning. The amendment was accepted by Del. Duffy, mover of the original motion, and the motion as amended was carried.

DEL. SPARGO: I wish simply to ask for information. I did not understand, in the statement of the motion, whether this was to be a committee to report at this convention, or a standing committee to report at some future convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that it is to be a standing committee. Was that the intention of the mover?

DEL. BESSEMER: Yes.

DEL. SPARGO: Then, in view of the fact that in the reply to the question of Comrade Duffy you said that unless otherwise ordered you would rule that the membership of that committee should be confined to the membership of this convention, I move that if any proposal is submitted for that committee, and any proposal is not del-egates to this convention, provided they are members of the party, that they shall be eligible for election. They are all delegates who have been nominated, and I suppose all who accept will be members of the convention.

DEL. SPARGO: Then I move to reconsider. There are no such persons nominated, and the reason they have not been nominated is that we have been prevented from nominating non-delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN: Make your motion. Don't discuss it.

DEL. SPARGO: I have made the motion and it has been seconded. I have a right to state my reason for reconsideration. My reason for moving to reconsider is that the Chair has stated—

A Washington delegate raised a point of order that Del. Spargo should make his motion first and give his reasons afterwards.

DEL. SPARGO: I have already moved to reconsider. (Seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded to reconsider the action of the convention, including these nominations and to throw them open, with the understanding that the ruling of the Chair is set aside, and that comrades, irrespective of

membership in this convention, are eligible as members in that committee.

DEL. SPARGO: Now, I will state my reason for reconsideration.

DEL. ZITTI (Ohio): A point of information. How did Comrade Spargo vote? I will state my reasons for reconsideration. With the understanding that no person could be nominated for this committee who was not a member of this convention, certain delegates, comrades of the party, whom they called non-delegates, were elected to this question. If we are to dispose of it at this convention it is perfectly right and proper that the membership of the committee should be confined to this convention. If, however, we are to have a standing committee for two years, to report on this whole question, there is no reason under the sun why we should not go outside of this convention to select those expert members of our party to deal with the question. (Applause.) So far as I am concerned, I know that in the membership of the Socialist Party today we have some of the most expert educators in the United States of America. I know that in the conventions some of the members of our party come with great prestige and are recognized as experts in an expert body, and if we are to have a report two years from now at our national congress, I trust we may have the privilege extended by the convention to nominate some at least who are not shoemakers or carpenters to decide upon the question of education; men and women who are expert educators. (Applause.)

DEL. LOWE (Ill.): I want to speak in favor of Comrade Spargo's motion. I would not for one moment accept a nomination on such a committee as this, because although I am a teacher, I am not prepared to act on for the purpose of electing certain persons to fill up the requisite number of names upon a committee. They are to do special work along this line, and it is sort of importance, and we need the very best educators that we have in our movement. I want to say, comrades, by all means do not vote for a man or woman who lives in your district, vote for those who are the best educators, and I am confident that have not been some in our movement that have not been nominated yet. I am in favor of Comrade Spargo's motion.

DEL. MILLER (New) made a point of order that a motion to reconsider is not debatable. The point was sustained by the Chair.

DEL. PRIGSTAP (Ohio): I want to say this: I am sorry that I am a schemer, but I am too old to learn anything else. The motion to reconsider was carried by a vote of 121 to 57.

The Chairman called for further nominations, the occupations of the nominees to be stated. The following nominations were then made:

George R. Kirkpatrick, Ohio, teacher. Accepted.
Ira Tilton, Indiana, lecturer. Accepted.
Caroline Pratt, New York, teacher on industrial education. Accepted.
Warren Alkinson, Manual Training School, Norfolk, A. Accepted.
Frank Sanford, Alton, Illinois, Accepted.
Benjamin Gruenberg, New York, teacher. Accepted.
Mary O'Reilly, Illinois, teacher. Accepted.

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Gertrude B. Hunt, Pennsylvania, lecturer. Accepted.
 Meta L. Berger, Milwaukee, housewife. Accepted.
 Absent, Dr. P. M.
 Wm. L. Garver, Missouri, architect and draftsman. Accepted.
 Margaret Freedy, Ohio, teacher. Declined.
 Ruth Stokes Brown, California, teacher. Declined.
 James F. Carey, Massachusetts, shoe-maker. Declined.
 Charles A. Byrd, Texas University. Declined.
 Alta D. Scudder, Wellesley College. Accepted.
 Joseph Stylo, Minnesota, school principal. Accepted.
 Gustave A. Strebel, New York, clothing cutter. Accepted.
 Emil Seidel, Wisconsin, carpenter, designer, patternmaker. Accepted.
 May Wood Simons, Kansas, teacher. Accepted.
 George Clifton Edwards, Texas, teacher. Declined.
 Mary L. Gaffs, Colorado, newspaper reporter and dressmaker. Declined.
 Morris Kaplan, Minnesota. Declined.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Chairman called the convention to order at 2:30 P. M.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to call attention to an error in the list of committees elected yesterday as printed. There are eighteen names given under the head of Committee on Constitution. Only the first nine are the ones elected to that committee. The other nine are the Committee on Labor Organizations.

DEL. BERGDER (N. Y.): The Committee on Foreign Speaking Organizations is omitted.

THE CHAIRMAN: If my recollection serves me right, the Committee on Foreign Relations and several other committees were elected on the floor and do not appear on the printed list. The reports of committees will be read and any that are ready to report may do so.

The list of committees was read by the Secretary, and Delegate Thompson of Wisconsin announced that the Committee on Constitution Form of Government was ready to report.

It was moved and seconded that the convention take up the report of the Committee on Constitution Form of Government. ~~Adopted.~~

DEL. THOMPSON (WIS.): The report of this committee is too long to be read. You have the printed reports before you, or if not there are enough of them printed and can be secured by the delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN: There was a motion adopted yesterday that all reports should be read.

DEL. ALEXANDER (Tex.): I move to dispense with that rule or to suspend the rule, rather with respect to this particular report. It is very lengthy.

The motion to suspend the rules and dispense with the reading of the report was carried.

DEL. THOMPSON: There are a few things, however, that I should like to call your attention to in connection with this report.

In the first place, your committee, for the past two years, has been gathering from every possible source information on this subject, from magazine articles, pamphlets, correspondence, books, leaflets, letters from the various locals, and other material. We

Henry L. Stobodin, New York, lawyer. Accepted.
 Wynne E. Branstetter, Oklahoma. Declined.
 Dr. Rosette, Maryland, physician. Accepted.
 N. A. Richardson, California. Absent.
 John G. Onsol, Massachusetts, labor editor. Accepted.
 I. Clifton, Ohio, printer. Declined.
 James A. Smith, Utah. Accepted.
 Allan A. England, Maine, writer. Accepted.

John C. Kennedy, Illinois, secretary Association of Commerce of the University of Illinois. Accepted.
 J. Stitt Wilson, California. Declined.
 G. H. Lockwood, Michigan. Declined.

Anna K. Storck, Ohio. Accepted.
 R. J. Wheeler, Pennsylvania. Accepted.
 Algeon Lee, New York. Declined.
 Marion Hanson, Washington, teacher. Accepted.

John Stlayton, Pennsylvania, carpenter. Accepted.
 The convention then adjourned until 2:30 P. M.

had the assistance in Wisconsin of the Municipal Reference Library at Milwaukee, which is always glad to help in assembling material along these lines. We also had the help of the Legislative Reference Library at Madison, Wis., which is also always very willing to help in gathering materials and assembling it. In addition to this material which we gathered in these different ways, Comrade Jacobson, the chairman of the committee, assembled the names of the secretaries of the locals in the various cities that had the Wisconsin form of government. He had sent out circular letters to all of these secretaries asking them to send out 150 letters of this kind upon this subject. 150 letters were received up to the present time, and they are still coming. So that we think that we have received a pretty good proportion of replies to these letters.

Now the report that you have on your tables is the result of that work. It is reported to you unanimously by the committee, with the exception of one member who did not come to this convention and who therefore was unable to meet with us, and we were unable to get a meeting until just before the convention assembled, when we got our committee together.

Now, I would call your attention very briefly to the features of this report. I think that will be all that will be necessary for this time. The first part of the report, beginning on page 2, is simply a discussion of the extent and the rate of growth of the commission form of government, which, as we point out, began very slowly, increased quickly, and then has rather diminished in its rate of growth.

On page 3 there is a discussion of the size of the cities adopting it. We show that almost without exception it has been the smaller cities that have adopted it. Since this report was sent to the printer, Minn., has adopted this form of government. That then is the largest city, having a population of 214,000.

Then follows a discussion of the essential features and the non-essential features.

*The report is printed in full as Appendix C.—Editor.

tures, and the characteristic of this report, distinguishing it from all other studies of the commission form of government, is this: that we hold that such details as the initiative, referendum, recall, home rule, civil service, provisions for publicity, are not essential features of the commission form of government, because cities that do not have the commission form have these features, all or some of them; some cities have them, some nations have them, and some have not; showing that they are not essential to the commission form.

We did not wish to go too much into controversial matters in this report, but on page five we have taken up the consideration of the results of this commission form.

Now, reports differ. There is a mass of information on both sides outside of Socialist sources. Some of them are very much in favor and report that it has been very successful. Others report that it had not been successful. You can read it and decide for yourselves what your judgment is; what your opinion ought to be from this information.

On page 6 we mention some of the favorable and some of the unfavorable reports showing that there is a difference of opinion even among the non-Socialists.

On page 9 we report the result of some circular letters. There you will find in the very place that some of the Socialist locals are very much in favor of the commission form of government. Some of them are very much opposed to it. Considerably more of the locals are opposed to it than favor it. Quite a number do not know where they stand; and in fact do not stand anywhere on the question. They are neither for it nor against it. I suppose several hundred people have written us during these two years asking us to tell them where they actually stood on the subject. And of course we had to assume the judicial attitude, and tell them they would have to wait until you told us where we stood before we told them where they stood. That is the purpose of this report. The result of the reports from the locals you will find on page 9.

On page 11 we take up the arguments for and against as reported by the locals; and then your committee prints out three at least of the principal objections to the commission form of government. You will find beginning at the bottom of page 11 under "Objectionable features," the first one is "Extreme non-partisan policy;" the second one, on page 14, the elimination of third one, on page 14, the elimination of minority representation. And then we take up some other general objections.

On page 15 we discuss some of the claims put forth by the champions of the commission form of government and we try to show what we believe to be true, that many of the claims put forth by the friends of the commission form are without foundation. That they are not well established. I would like to ask those of you who are following the report one part of a sentence at the bottom of page 15. It got in by mistake and we would like to have it out. It is the sentence that reads, "This should have given sufficient ground for refusing to submit the matter." That sentence should be stricken out. The committee wishes to have it stricken out; and will be stricken out in the final printed report.

There is one feature in regard to this commission form of government which it seems to me should not have been overlooked by those all writers on this subject, and that is the experience of other countries in that effort to solve the problems of municipal government. The commission form of government we point out is an entirely new proposition. There is no precedent for it anywhere in the world. We point out that while the best governed cities in the world are beyond question the cities of Germany, and the next best governed cities from the standpoint of efficiency are the cities of England, and perhaps the next best governed the cities of France, and the advocates of the commission form, and nearly all writers have practically ignored the experience of other nations in the solution of these problems of municipal government.

On page 19 we point out certain desirable features of municipal government in their relation to the commission form. There are certain features which we almost always find in connection with the commission form of government which are very desirable. And we point out that it is important not to take an indiscriminate position to commission form of government, because it might seem to place us in opposition to certain features which we would all desire. The attitude that the party should take in any particular city or state should be determined by the particular form and the specific features sought to be adopted. For instance while a commission of five members may be and probably is the most efficient in small cities it is not desirable in large cities. Home rule is desirable in large cities. Every student of municipal problems knows that in this and all other countries one of the fundamental purposes of capitalistic government is to bind cities down so that they cannot adopt radical changes which would favor the working class. Every extension of the right of home rule to the municipalities is a great help in securing municipal ownership, direct employment, trades union conditions, and many other important matters.

And finally, when the committee came to the question of recommendations, the committee did not feel that it could recommend to attempt to make any specific recommendations as to what any city should do apart from the general principles that we have discussed in the report. For the obvious reason that there are hardly any two cities or any two states that have the same form of commission government. Therefore the only thing we could say to you as a committee was this: that you would have to study the particular form of commission government that is up for discussion in your city or state, and with reference to the actual definition there, with reference to the principles that we have laid down, and then locally decide what your attitude shall be. In the laws and in the charters, variation in the laws and in the charters. However, there was one thing upon which the committee agreed as a recommendation: that a committee be appointed by the convention to study further the best forms of municipal government, and to submit the results of their work as a basis for a form that may be proposed as an alternative plan. Now the thought of your committee is this: the capitalist reform forces in this coun-

I want to say further that so far the delegates who are on the floor of the Socialist party as representatives I had no occasion today at this convention to criticize either in honor or listening to when they proposed running for Mayor Jones, the non-partizan candidate for mayor of Toledo. We have no commission form of government in Toledo. We don't need it. And they took it lead. We didn't soon enough, and they took it the non-partizan lines. They wiped out the identity of the Socialist candidates or tried to.

Some of the delegates say that if mankind ever talk Socialism. They believe everybody without a party. Christian Socialism without a party. That is what the co without a Christ

stitution form of government means. This form of government is a good thing for the reformer. It is a very poor thing for Socialists. As a Socialist I don't want any substitute for Socialism. I don't want to support any candidate who promises simply to give us a "good government" or a "clean government" or a "business administration" or any of these other immediate demands. I want cut class conscious demands by a clean cut class conscious Socialist vote.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wts.): From my point of view there has been a confusion of ideas in this discussion. There has been an unnecessary separation in some cases because two ideas have been confused. As the commission form of government has been presented to us it has been associated with two very distinct things. One is the non-partisan majority election. That is not an essential part of commission government at all. You could just as well elect a commission form of government with regular party ballot, and with your candidate regularly placed on party tickets, and that would be cleanly grasped.

The other idea is the election of a small group of administrative officers, with the responsible charge of the affairs of the municipality concentrated in a few hands. That is the essential form of Government. That is its essential principle. These few men hold in their hands all the powers of the city Government, including all those usually given to the mayor, those usually exercised by the department heads, and those of the executive, the judicial, and all the rest of them, the chief of police included, and this smaller group of men also hold the powers usually held by the city council, all these powers, legislative, administrative, and semi-judicial. All of these are in the hands of the commission. They act as one body. They do not act as checks and balances at all. It is all in one hand so to speak—all the powers of municipal government.

Now so far as the non-partizan feature is concerned no socialist group in any city could be non-partizan if they were Socialists. Any political action that is intelligent is only the expression in political form of the interests of some social or economic group or class. When that is contended the political action is not intelligent. We have said that so many different ways in Milwaukee that they are bound to be so. The legislative committee is doing nothing if at the last special session. They have tried to persuade us in Wisconsin, in Milwaukee, that it is not necessary to designate the principles of a candidate for municipal office; that it is entirely a matter of the man; entirely a matter of the intelligence of the voters in picking out the man. We pointed out that they were trying to obscure the great principles, the great issues of principle, which are not merely municipal principles, but which run from top to bottom of the Socialist political structure. And finally in a special session recently they did enact a non-partizan, municipal, majority election law for cities in Wisconsin; and they did make some of these proposed and practiced changes of principle—that there must be no designation of principles—and they passed a bill for the designation of principles. And they combine the two. They must be words not used in the past. They must be words not used in the designation on the ballot, nomination paper, or election notice, for any state or national office. We have got to get different

words and we have thought of putting on the ballot twelve five words: "Workers of the world unite! For non-partizan action, this non-partizan election. This makes it clear. I trust that this tinkering with the election machinery on cities is a necessary part of the commission for the city." That is the very thing that has been most of all insisted upon by our wooley friends up there in Milwaukee, the non-partizans—we call them the "woozles."

That disposes, it seems to me, of the non-partizan majority election feature. We are not opposed to the majority election. That part of it does bring out the class line. We are not opposing that, unless it does this: if the majority election may possibly result if it be in a place where there is not a normal majority—it may result in a most unwholesome combination of the most undesirable elements on one end and the equally undesirable googooks at the other. Then you get a most horrible mess. I was in Los Angeles and the googooks ran one end of the campaign and the googooks ran the other end of the campaign and the dives ran the red light district and the googooks, and all that you get that come between. That is what you get when you force an abnormal majority where there is not a normal majority of those properly related to each other by economic connection. The class line is there, however, and sooner or later there must come intelligent action along the lines fixed by economic interest; but for the time being it is liable to confuse the situation terribly.

As to the commission form of government increasing economy and efficiency, you do not have to have the commission form of government in order to have efficiency. I will refer you to all sorts of men, authorities on that subject. Who will say that the administration of Milwaukee—I am not going to make any nominating speech—the Milwaukee style of government, mayor, the old style council, chief of police, and all of that—nevertheless it furnished what is conceded to be if not the most efficient, certainly ranked among the most efficient forms of city government in this country. We made good. We showed in what could be done in two years. But the commission form of government does make it more convenient for those to whom the power is given to do the things which they wish to do. No doubt about that. It simplifies matters. You don't have to have all the folderol, the red tape, the hocuspocus of council action, with resolutions laid over and a minority held in check by all that sort of thing. You get a simplified, more direct action if that is what you want. But we have the notion in Milwaukee at the present time that the representative the city something to say through their special representatives in the common council; and gives them a chance to talk it over with the different elements, and with the different kind of folks there represented it seems to us that that has proved to be passably effective when intelligence enough is applied to that method. But I also want to say that I could—no, I would be so indiscreet as to say that I could—but my Comrade Hoan, city attorney of Milwaukee, who is a lawyer, could draft such a form of commission government as would be utterly obnoxious to the Googoss and the so-called reformers. And he could draft one that would be satisfactory to every socialist. The commission form of government can be anything you please. That is the point I wish to make about the commission form of government. Now in settling what shall be

the particular form of commission. For example, the state in each case states that. You will have to change the words from "of government in these United States" to "of government in this state." I would like to see if we can change that until we have the whole United States constitution fixed to suit us before we begin on the job of fixing the municipal government to suit us. What are we doing?

DEL. MARBLE: (N. Y.) What are we supposed to do? We are supposed to be chairmen in this convention doing? We were the ones that said William Howard Taft was not fit to be president of the United States because he did not know what he was going to do. I say that our committees are not fit to be committees if after two years' study of this subject they are not ready to make any recommendations. What is this convention doing here? Why can't we get some intelligent action? Why can't we get some recommendations as to what we should do about it? We have spent two or three months here, and yet we have not reported so far, and neither one has been brought in anything by which we could arrive at some decision. How in the world could we accept this report? What is there for us to accept? What more do we

know than we knew before? We come here to decide these things for ourselves. What are we going to do? Two years ago we elected committee; now we are going to spend days against electing committees; and then two years from now they will come again and tell us the same thing over again. So far as the non-partisan commission form of government is concerned I have had some experiences that are not as favorable as those of the comrades who spoke awhile ago. I have been in cities where the people were sick and tired of the graft of a democratic mayor. For years the democratic mayor fooled them and exploited them. Then they elected a republican mayor and he did likewise. The ball kept rolling from side to side. So the people were tired of all this; they did not want any more republican or democratic mayors, but they wanted some solution of government that was facing them, finally the solution came in the commission form of government; and they gladly accepted it. They proposed a non-partisan ticket. The working classes were pacified. At last the day of salvation had come. But let me tell you what happened. When the republicans had been elected to office the democrats had stood outside and told the people what the republicans were doing. When the democrats were in office the republicans likewise told the people what the democrats were doing. In that way the people had some little idea how they were being robbed. Then finally came the commission form of government; and then the democrats and the republicans made a pact together; they co-operated; they put up a non-partisan ticket; two democrats and two republicans and they were elected; and then there was peace for both the thieves were within; and the people did not know what was going on. That is where the people got the worst of

... I have not studied this subject very much; I do not know very much about it; but I say that we elect committees to give us information; I say for God's sake let them come here and give us something definite to work upon instead of something vague. We can do better work than to sit around the Hogan (Ark.). It seems to me that we as Socialists as reasonable men and women should be able to see the inextinguishable. The commission form of government is here; it is steadily growing which

er we want it or not. It is coming in recognition of this fact; there is no longer in our municipalities a line upon which the two old parties can divide, and the mission form of government is a business proposition. It is the business of the administration in which all the people, though they be republicans, though they be democrats, though they be Socialists, all the people are interested. A comrade over here decries the idea of bettering the condition of the municipality where he lives. As for me I desire to see every city in the land cleaner; every city in the land better; its affairs better administered in the interest of economy, in the interest of public health; in the interest of all the people; and every one ought to see that in these things the working man is of all the most interested. The point I want to make is this: that no matter how we may decay the commission form of government, it is the next step in municipal government; it is inevitable; we cannot escape it; and we have to meet the issue as it is, and say that we will do all that we can to make it perfect. That is all.

DEL BREWER (Kas.): There is certainly some confusion here this afternoon on this question of the commission form of government. I know in my recent travels through the state of California that in many of the localities there was the same confusion among the comrades. When I found here upon the floor of this assembly I have found the same confusion almost everywhere. The past four or five months Socialists everywhere, asking the same questions, have been asked the same questions. I guess here is the commission form of government, a good thing or not? Now so far as I am personally concerned I can only speak from the point of view of Glendale, which has the commission form of government. In a recent election in that little city where the class lines were certainly distinctly drawn, the Socialists did not lose our identity. The fact is the good government candidates of the republican and democratic tickets combined; that the street walkers and dive keepers, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Baptists and the Catholics, the whole of the representatives of capitalism, went to the ballot box on election day and voted for the "good government" candidates, as against the working class candidates nominated by the Socialists, and endorsed and supported by the working class generally in that community. Following the election of the good government candidate of course the church bells were rung, the bands were lighted on the street corners. To my mind there is one point in this commission form of government that is of vital importance. In Kansas they have a law that requires in cities of the first class a certain percentage of the voters to sign a recall; that in cities of the second class there shall be a larger percentage; and in cities of the third class it is almost impossible for us to get the recall. Now these questions should all be considered; they should be analyzed. So-called comrades have to meet these questions in every state in the Union. You should discuss them; you should be ready to advise the comrades intelligently. It seems to me very clear that where you have a proper right of recall that this commission form of government is not so bad a thing as some of the comrades seem to think. Now for my part I feel that the committee has absolutely failed to perform its duties as

A vote was then taken on the amendment to the amendment that the matter be referred to a committee of nine to report to the National Committee their action. The amendment to the amendment was lost. The question was then put on the amendment that the matter of endorsing the commission form of government be left to the states. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 134 to 64.

The motion as amended was then carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair does not know how to rule on that point, but I take it that the will of the convention will be expressed in the vote on the continuance of the committee. The vote is on the continuance of the committee. All in favor of continuing—

DEL. SLOBODIN: I move to amend that a committee of nine be elected by this convention to take up that subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair will entertain the amendment and we will have discussion upon it.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Just as I was saying, we have presented a report with one recommendation from the committee and then it comes out that there is in that report an endorsement of the commission form of government. Comrade Thompson wishes to continue the matter, and that is also the position of the other delegates. Then comes an amendment that the commission form of government is a state matter. I want to speak against that, and I want to speak against this form of government. I am not in favor of continuing the committee for that reason. The comrade who made the amendment gave away the entire issue. The commission form of government means that any municipality may have an appointive executive committee that shall have the right of legislating and also certain other powers. I do not want the convention to elect a committee to do something which I am opposed to. Now, commission, and that is what they want to do on the short ballot. They hope to have a state committee instead of having a national committee. They should have one commission for the purpose of giving the state an appointive executive and judicial officers also, and having legislative powers. The third step would be to have a national commission for the same purpose. Now, that is against the position of the International Socialists and against the position that ought to be taken by Socialists all

over the world. That may be wrong but this convention ought not to go on record and do something hastily. We have always held the position of the Socialists is that the proper powers of legislation should be vested in the legislature, and the legislature should have the right to appoint executive and judicial officers. The commission form of government should be discarded. Let the people should have the right to elect the powers. That is contrary to the general position that the Socialists have taken heretofore, and therefore I am opposed to the appointment of a committee in favor of that and I am in favor of a committee that is opposed to it.

The previous question was ordered.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I wish to say that two years ago this subject of the commission form of government came up in our national congress, and the discussion was intense and acute, but we were in a sense at sea on the subject of commission form of government. We have had no adequate study made of the question. The four comrades that were named on this report, were named without any consideration as to whether they were for or against the commission form of government. They are not committed to the commission form of government now. Not one of them. Not Thompson or McLevy or Jacobson or Branstetter; they are not in favor of the commission form of government. The report does not commit them or commit us to be in favor of the commission form of government. My only desire in making this motion is this: This committee worked two years faithfully to have had some knowledge of the work which they have performed. They have gathered voluminous matter from various sources upon this subject and have it in their possession for a still more complete study of the question. Since they are not committed to the commission form of government, and since we are not committed by the action we have just taken, would it not be the part of wisdom to re-appoint or re-elect the same committee to continue their study and report to us their findings in a succeeding congress of this party? If they had done nothing, if they had proved incompetent students of the question, if they had proved negligent to their duty, we might have dismissed them and decided to appoint a committee from this body. Against Comrade Slobodkin's motion I wish to urge that a committee of nine is too large a committee to take hold of this question. They must communicate and inter-communicate to get united action and present it before us. This is not a serious matter to be sure, but it seems to me it would be the part of wisdom for this delegation to recommit to the faithful body of four persons this subject. They have voluminous material, they have covered the United States with their letters, and there are men in hundreds and hundreds of this report. I hope the comrades will simply vote for the motion and let them act upon it two years hence, and let them act upon it two years hence.

DEL. KAPLAN (Minn.): I am in favor of Comrade Slobodkin's amendment. First, because I believe we have got to take a definite position. The committee has had two years without reaching a definite attitude. I want this committee of nine appointed, because I am unalterably opposed to and want the Socialist party nationally to go on record against the commission form

of government. (Applause.) You have yet to show me an instance—there may be some here and there—where a capitalist, large or small, is against the commission form of government. You have yet to show me an instance where, in any one of our states, where the commission form of government has been introduced in any form that the working class conditions in those cities have been bettered one iota. (Applause.) If we do not take a position against it, if on the other hand we remain leaving it with one state going on record in favor and another against it, the Socialist Party nationally don't know where it is at. In the state of Minnesota, the governor of that state has gone on record in favor of extending the commission form of government to the state, and if somebody like Teddy Roosevelt is elected president of the United States he will bring in some sort of proposition by which any organized political party with a dues-paying membership—and we are the only dues-paying party—can come under the interpretation of the anti-trust Sherman law, and then when you come to realize it you will be regarded as a trust, and it will be used to crush you as it has been used to crush the unions in certain places, as you very well know. This is a business proposition from the business man's standpoint, and as already mentioned, it is regarded as an efficient instrument for the purposes of the capitalist class of order. DEL. WILSON: I have a point of order. The commission form of government is not under discussion. The subject under discussion is the question of appointing a committee of nine to whom the subject shall be recommended.

DEL. KAPLAN: It is the appointment of a committee of nine for the purpose of taking a position against the commission form of government. And I want to say, without desiring to be personal, that it has been demonstrated by experience where we have elected—

THE CHAIRMAN: You are off the question. You are not on the advisability of having a committee at all, but on the commission form. Which committee do you want?

DEL. KAPLAN: Well, just a word in conclusion. The capitalistic attitude has been shown. I won't say that the mayor of Berkeley refused to hand in his resignation to the Socialists. (Applause.)

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I simply wish to say that I resent a statement of that kind from any comrade on this floor; that it is without authority and without proof, and is absolutely without any relationship whatever to the point under discussion. (Applause.)

The question was then put on the amendment providing for the election of a committee of nine, and the amendment was lost by the vote of 59 to 114.

The original motion for the continuance of the committee to make a further report to the next national Socialist congress, was then carried.

Certain corrections in the minutes of the previous day's session were then noted by the secretary.

The convention then took up the special order, the reading of resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were presented and read:

A resolution offered by Del. Strickland of Ohio, under instructions or request of local Dayton, on the subject of literature for circulation among the military, naval

and police forces. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution from Brunswick, Md., recommending establishment of a national Socialist printing plant. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Declaration submitted by Missouri delegation on united action by all labor organizations. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution submitted by E. H. Melsner of California on prosecutions of California mine workers. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Wells (Cal.) with the form of a letter to be sent to the Methodist General Conference at Minneapolis. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Christian Larsen of the Scandinavian Federation on the question of the religious neutrality of the party. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution recommending joint conference for promoting the cooperation between Socialist party and the labor organizations. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution adopted by Branch I, Local

New York, recommending policy to be pursued by Socialists in office. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution signed by Iowa delegation, on the subject of the liquor traffic. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution signed by Delegates J. Ohnel, Patrick Mahony and Robert Lawrence, of Massachusetts delegation, protesting against the Dillingham Immigration Bill and the Root amendment. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution introduced by Delegate Mary O'Reilly on opposition to military education of children. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution submitted by Del. Geo. W. O'Donnell of Missouri, that the party provide a more substantial form of dues cards, similar to that of the Western Federation of Miners. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution on the subject of labor unions submitted under instructions by delegates from Kent County, New York. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

The convention adjourned at 6 o'clock p. m.

FOURTH DAYS SESSION.

Del. Otto F. Branstetter, chairman of the preceding day, called the convention to order at 10 o'clock a. m. Nominations for chairman of the day were called for, and the following were made:

Lee (N. Y.)—accepted.
 Slayton (Pa.)—accepted.
 Collins (Colo.)—declined.
 Carey (Mass.)—declined.
 Lattimer (Minn.)—declined.
 Gobel (N. J.)—accepted.
 Thompson (Tex.)—declined.
 Barth (Wash.)—accepted.
 The vote resulted as follows: Lee 72, Slayton 48, Collins 34, Gobel 21, Barth 21, Del. Algeron Lee, of New York, was declared elected chairman for the day.
 The following nominations were made for vice chairman of the day:

Stokes (Ky.)—absent.
 S. S. (Nash.)—accepted.
 Leewood (Md.)—declined.
 Houston (W. Va.)—declined.
 Le Sneur (N. D.)—accepted.

The vote resulted: Sadler 72, Le Sneur 87, and Del. Le Sneur was declared elected vice chairman for the day.
 Del. Stobodn, of New York, announced his withdrawal as a candidate for the Committee on Education, and requested the delegates to strike his name from the ballots.

PERSONAL PRIVILEGE.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Comrade Chairman, I rise to a question of personal privilege. Yesterday Comrade Haywood inserted a subject during my absence, and I would like to have a few moments to set the facts of that matter before the convention. The incident that gave rise to the question of personal privilege enjoyed by Comrade Haywood was the receipt on Monday of a telegram which by a vote of the convention was decided not to be read. I was acting as chairman. My personal opinion was that the communication should be read, but I was not governed by my personal opinion and left it to the option of the assembly. Afterward it was decided not to read the telegram. It was, by the way, a dispatch from a member of the convention from a Branch in Denver and assailed the rights of a member of the convention and when it was later explained that it was not a regular member of the convention, but one to whom the courtesy of a voice had been granted by the convention, 90 per cent of the delegates, I am sure, knew whom it referred to, and in a few minutes after I think 100 per cent of the delegates after all the newspaper men knew whom it referred to. Almost immediately after that our comrade secretary came to me and said, "The newspaper men are very much agitated on this subject and there will probably be large headlines in the papers tomorrow about suppression of documents and mystery in the Socialist convention," and he transmitted their request that they

might see that without publishing it, just the nature of it, in order to color their story. And I believe we conferred upon it, and we believed that it would be a good idea, putting them on their point of honor that they might see it, when they knew that the decision was not to publish. Comrade Haywood yesterday said that the telegram "appeared in the Indianapolis Star this morning." That is quite a rash statement, when there is just this sentence and nothing more appearing in the Star: "Haywood is charged with conduct unbecoming a Socialist." This thing moved Comrade Haywood to enlarge on his ideas and make, in my judgment, an unwarranted attack upon persons not interested or involved in the question at all. That, however, is his own concern. It seems to me it was a case of much-add-about nothing. The reporters respected their honor in every respect. Everybody knew that one sentence was in the telegram, and that one sentence was the only published words that are in all in the telegram, so that the statement of Comrade Haywood is quite incorrect. It may be possible that it was an error of judgment on my part, but the purpose as I have explained, was to prevent a mystery being spread over the nation in large headlines and advertising a misconception of the purposes of the convention. I thank you, comrades. (Applause.)

REGULAR ORDER.

Del. Hartman, of California, stated that he had two telegrams from San Diego. The Chairman stated that they would be read under the order of communications.
 On motion of Del. Merrill (N. Y.), the reading of the minutes was dispensed with, the Chairman announcing that corrections desired might be handed to the Secretary, to be disposed of before the adjournment.

ADDRESS BY KARL LEGIEN, OF GERMANY.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, at this point I would like to interrupt the regular order of business to invite you that our comrade, Karl Legien, the Secretary of the General Federation of Labor Unions of the organized labor movement of Germany, is in the hall. I believe that it would be the desire of the delegates that some provision should be made for hearing him today. Do I hear a motion to that effect?

DEL. STOBODIN (N. Y.): I move that Comrade Russell, of New York, and Comrade Hartman, of California, be appointed a committee to request Legien to speak and to escort him to the platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Legien has already found his way to the platform. Del. Mahony, of Massachusetts, moved that the convention hear Comrade Legien, of Germany. Motion was seconded and carried.

Comrade Legien then addressed the convention, being received with great enthusiasm. He spoke in German after which his address was translated into English by his Secretary Comrade A. Bunnmeister.

COMRADE LEGIEN: Comrades and fellow-workers: It gives me great pleasure to attend your convention while I am traveling in this country. I have not been specially delegated by the Executive Council of the German Social Democratic Party, because we had no idea, when I left Europe, that I would be able to see your convention at all.

I dare say, however, that I should all the same be entitled to speak on behalf of our party and also on behalf of its Executive Council, not only because I am one of the representatives of the German Social Democratic Party in our Reichstag, but also on account of the fact that I am the President of the German Federation of Trade Unions, and for this reason in constant touch with the Executive Council of the Socialist party of Germany. (Applause.)

As a matter of fact, the Socialist movement of our country is closely and with much interest watching the movement in the United States; partly because it is largely believed that the United States may possibly be or become the first as a result of the rapid concentration and growth of capitalism and the privileges and possibilities that are open to the workers of this country. But I believe that the labor movement of the New World, to some extent at least, depends also on the development of our movement in Europe; not merely on account of our modern means of communication, but also because the Socialist movement is international and its final aims can only be realized on an international basis.

As far as I know, from the temper of this convention, from reports published in your press, and also from prominent members of the party, you will have to decide most delicate and important questions, problems which have for years taken up all our time in the German movement.
 You will be called upon, for instance, to find a solution with respect to the relations which should exist between the party and the trade union movement, and these relations, of course, must be in accordance with the actual economic condition and with the development of both wings of the labor movement in every country.

At least as far as Germany is concerned, I may say without hesitation that we have been able to solve this all-important question, not only to the benefit of our own movement, but I believe also to the benefit of the whole labor movement. I cannot give any opinion of my own as to what should be done in your particular case. All we can do is to give you an idea of what we did in Germany under similar circumstances, leaving you to draw parallels if you desire.

Trade unions had been in existence in Germany before we had any Socialist movement at all. While others were established at the same time as the political party, some of these unions started through the direct influence of members of the Socialist party while many unions were also established by factions of the party that existed in Germany from the 60's up to 1875.

But all of these organizations, whether or not under the influence of the party, help the trade unions to keep aloof from party politics (applause), believing that they should unite the working class of all shades

and faiths in opposition to modern capitalism, which has no regard to political parties or religious beliefs.

This principle had been endorsed at a Trade Union Congress in 1872, and also at the joint conference of both wings of the trade unions, which was held in 1875, immediately after both Social Democratic parties had been merged. After that the movement had made rapid progress, but they were brutally suppressed in 1878 by means of the infamous anti-Socialist law.

During the twelve years of the regime of this anti-Socialist law the unions were the only public representatives of the German working class, while our party was upheld by an absolutely secret organization only. The growth of the Social Democratic movement was very satisfactory, and also unexpected in the first year after the recall of the anti-Socialist law, because all the general election that year we were able to elect a number of members of parliament. This rapid development accounts for that false hope of many of our contemporaries of that time that the downfall of the present state of society and the establishment of Socialism were near at hand. As a result of all this we had that early in the 90's the trade union movement was considered to be of very little importance. Finally, however, it was recognized that the working class must be trained in industrial warfare for better conditions and that all wage earners must be united in their trade union movement as well.

After this period all possible attention was given to the trade union movement, and the party itself has done everything within its power to assist the trade unions in their struggle, and we find that special resolutions were adopted at the various conventions of the German Social Democratic Party soliciting the active support of the party for the trade union movement.

I should not omit to mention the fact that the party has never claimed that the unions should assume a political character or that they should become part and parcel of the party itself. Our Comrade Fabel has repeatedly emphasized the necessity of a politically neutral trade union movement in order to be able to organize the workers of all shades of faith.
 The same view has at various times been expressed by the Executive Council of the party. It has been left to the unions to manage their own affairs and to choose whatever tactics they consider best for their work. (Applause.)

For a certain time after the recall of the anti-Socialist law we had a number of unions who called themselves Socialist Unions, adopting the Socialist program. However, they have never been thoroughly recognized by the Socialist Party.

Their syndicalist tendencies became clear about ten years ago, and the Mannheim convention of the Socialist Party, which was held in 1906, decided that these unions should have nothing to do with the party and that their followers should even be expelled from the party if they would refuse to join the neutral and centralized trade unions. (Applause.) They were indeed expelled afterwards.

The so-called Socialist trade unions have never been of any great importance since the anti-Socialist law. It is scarcely possible to find anything accurate as to their actual strength, for they refuse to publish their details. I believe I am giving them too much credit by saying they may prob-

possible that the Socialist Party has become such a thing that we can no longer demand? Not very long ago we demanded as a party the withdrawal of all troops from the borders of Mexico. That was a much greater demand than the demand we are making now. There has come to us a cry for assistance from those who are with us in this class struggle. It is possible that everything may be done in a respectful and perfectly proper manner? Or are we as human beings going to listen to the only call for assistance answer it in the only way that we can answer it, by saying to the authorities of California that we are with our comrades in that fight? By all means send this telegram and also send one of assurance to our comrades that those of us in converted listening to greetings but also listening to cries for help from those who are in the class struggle, and not dreaming of the talking of it.

DEL. LONDON (N. Y.): I rise against the motion. This may be a Socialist convention, but we are not therefore bound to act like a bunch of fools. Let us conduct our affairs in an orderly and rational manner and not take immediate, ill-considered action upon any telegram received from some one outside of this convention. We want to get more information from our duly constituted committee. We have heard Comrade Berger's request. We have heard him state that he desires to look into the matter, to be given an opportunity to examine and investigate. Moreover I don't believe much in a telegram that tells me that somebody is going to be kidnapped. That is going to be kidnapped! Why the body is going to be kidnapped means secrecy. People don't like a kidnap band to announce that they are going to kidnap somebody. We are not a bunch of babies here. To be revolutionary means to be a fool.

That is all there is to this.

THE CHAIRMAN: The vote will now be taken on the motion of Comrade Bessemer, send a telegram to the Governor of California and to the President of the United States demanding the protection for the rights of our comrades.

The division having been called for, the motion of Del. Bessemer was declared lost by a vote of ayes 102, noes 137.

DEL. PROSSER (Pa.): Relative to the matter just voted upon, I move that telegrams be sent to the comrades of San Diego acknowledging the receipt of their telegrams and assuring them of our support at the earliest possible moment.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved that telegrams be sent to the comrades of San Diego assuring them of support at the earliest possible moment.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): We have just voted down the only rational proposition. Now you want to send a message of condolence to the comrades there. Don't send anything if you can't send something that you want to be consistent.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: I have no particular objection to the motion presented, but I want to say this, that so far as the fight for free speech in Los Angeles or in San Diego is concerned there is not a legitimate fight, for free speech everywhere, all the time, everywhere, but, Comrade Chairman, it may be.

DEL. S. SADIEMER (Wash.): A point of

order. Del. Rodriguez is not speaking to the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will rule that it is not in order upon this particular motion to discuss the nature of the free speech fight in San Diego. I hope Comrade Rodriguez will confine himself to the question before us.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: This is a motion that we send a telegram promising to give them aid as soon as possible. I want to know whether we will or not.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have made a ruling. You may appeal to the ruling.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: Let me understand the Chair's ruling. My ruling is that it is not in order at this time to take up a discussion of the nature of the particular fight now going on in San Diego.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: The motion, as I understand it, is that we promise them our immediate aid, is that?

THE CHAIRMAN: That we send them a telegram acknowledging receipt of their communications and assuring them of our action at the earliest possible moment.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: Of our action or support?

THE CHAIRMAN: The word was action, as I understood it.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: If it says support I contend that the merits of the controversy ought to be considered. If it says support then we are pledging our support and we want to know what we are going to support.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you want the resolution read, or do you appeal from the decision of the Chair?

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: On the grounds I have stated, I certainly do.

COM. HAYWOOD: Will you permit a statement from the Executive Committee?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The question is now on the appeal from the Chair. Comrade Rodriguez will state the grounds for his appeal.

DEL. RODRIGUEZ: The motion as stated is that we pledge our support unconditionally without any limitation to the fight for free speech in San Diego. I contend that on a motion of that kind we have the right to discuss the merits of that fight for free speech before we adopt a motion to support that fight.

COM. HAYWOOD: Will you permit a statement from the Executive Committee that may finish this whole controversy?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: I don't think that would be in order now without a motion from the floor. The Chair will state the reason for his ruling.

THE CHAIRMAN: I ruled that a discussion of the merits of the fight now going on in San Diego was not in order at this moment. I made this ruling with the idea of expediting the business of the convention and making it possible to carry on that business in an intelligent discussion. This discussion, if there is to be a discussion, ought not to arise upon a mere question of sending that telegram but upon a question of sending that telegram to your National Executive Committee which I think it evidently going to get very soon. I think it will be readily understood that a telegram of this sort promises our support, not to anything and everything that may have been done, but to a legitimate, that it is fight. I don't think that to consider every detail of that fight before we decide whether we will send the telegram.

By a vote of 148 to 46 the ruling of the Chair was sustained.

A DELEGATE: I move that the whole matter be laid upon the table until the National Executive Committee reports.

DEL. SEARCO (Vt.): To send a telegram to the comrades of San Diego assuring them of our support will not of itself help to get a single man out of jail or help to keep a man from being put in jail. They need no such assurance. They know it now. They were assured of it yesterday by a telegram which sent them \$250. They will be assured of it still more a little later when we send them a telegram with more money, as possibly the Executive Committee will recommend. Don't waste your money sending idle telegrams. When you send a telegram today don't send one saying we are with you, but send a telegram saying here is something to help you. If we can't help them practically we surely ought not to waste money sending idle telegrams. Let us wait for the report of the Executive Committee.

DEL. CALDWELL (Mass.): I move that this whole matter be laid on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: By this whole matter you mean the motion of Del. Prosser from Pennsylvania to the effect that the convention immediately send a telegram to the comrades in San Diego acknowledging receipt of their telegrams and assuring them of our support.

The motion to lay on the table was carried.

DEL. BRANSTETTER (Ola.): A point of order. My point of order is that there is too much demonstration from the galleries.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is hardly a point of order. If the galleries forget themselves too much the Chair will restrain with them. We can not always restrain ourselves when we are in the galleries. But the visitors in the galleries will kindly refrain from interfering with the deliberations of the convention as much as possible.

The Secretary reported the receipt of credentials from J. Allen Fields, Oklahoma; George K. Roy, O. Bentall and Guy Underwood, Illinois. He also announced that Charles Ramsey was no longer acting as alternate for George Koop.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the report on credentials be received.

DEL. KATE SADIEMER (Wash.): Do you mean to say that when an alternate took the place of a delegate in the opening of the convention and that now that delegate can replace the man who was on the job from the beginning?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair so understands.

DEL. KATE SADIEMER: I don't know whether I am in order to make a motion here.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are in order.

DEL. KATE SADIEMER: I move that where an alternate has been on the job in the convention from the beginning he be recognized in this convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: The house can not enter into a question of the alternate came late or whether he or the alternate is the best delegate to represent the State.

DEL. KATE SADIEMER: I move you that the State take care of the expenses of that extra delegate.

THE CHAIRMAN: That motion is out of order at this time.

DEL. STODOLIN (N. Y.): While we have agreed to dispense with the printing of speeches we have not decided to dispense with the printing of the names of those who move or second resolutions. I

move that hereafter the names of the movers of resolutions or motions be printed in the minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Stodolin suggests that the names of delegates making motions be recorded by the Secretary in the minutes. Unless there is objection the Secretary will do this so far as he finds it possible.

THE SECRETARY: We are working under Robert's Rules of Order, which do not require this. That is all.

THE CHAIRMAN: The house will tacitly require this hereafter.

REPORT OF JEWISH SOCIALIST AGITATION BUREAU.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have the report of the Jewish Socialist Agitation Bureau reported by the first delegate of that organization. The delegate desires that it be read and in the minutes.

DEL. STODOLIN (N. Y.): I move that it be printed and placed on the table with the other reports.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The Chairman announced that the Auditing Committee was ready to report, and that the reporter for the committee asked that some one else read the report, as he was suffering from a sore throat.

DEL. COSGROVE (Ohio): I want to move, previous to the report being read, in regard to the discussion of the report. Under the rules we are allowed four hours for the discussion of the report. I make for the motion that every one speaking on reports present his name or her name in writing to the Chairman, and that the delegates who have presented their names to the Chairman have spoken on the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you mean that in the discussion of reports delegates desiring to speak should send their names to the Chairman, who shall keep the list of those names in order, calling upon and recognizing delegates in that order?

DEL. COSGROVE: The reason I make the motion is this: During the discussion yesterday afternoon one side presented views very fully. I, as a delegate coming here opposed to the proposition discussed against it. We want to hear the proposition of both sides of the question. One side had given a full discussion presenting their views. The opposing side had requested the floor on several occasions and had been promised by the Chairman that they would have the floor. But the previous question was called for and the comrades who had requested the floor were not allowed to speak. Now I think it is always customary, under parliamentary rules such as govern the proceedings of this convention, that if the question being called for, he has the right to be heard. I think the safest way, therefore, would be to have the names presented to the Chairman in writing and to adopt the rule that the convention shall not be allowed until the floor have been requested the floor have been requested their views on the matter before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is equivalent to a motion to suspend the rules, which will require a two-thirds vote to adopt it.

DEL. STODOLIN (N. Y.): The rules provide that the time shall be divided as

*The report is printed in full. Appendix

fairly as possible between the two sides to a question. That leaves it to the discretion and knowledge of the Chairman as to the side on which the delegate desires to speak. If he keeps a list and a large crowd rushes up with their names, the Chairman must grant the floor in rotation and the side that manages to get their names in first will speak and then somebody on that side will rise when his name is called and move the previous question.

DEL. RINGLER (Pa.): I move as an amendment that in sending names to the Chair the delegate shall designate the side on which he wishes to speak and the Chair shall select alternately one from each side until the time arrives at which the vote must be taken.

DEL. MAHONEY (Mass.): Supposing I am on neither side?

THE CHAIRMAN: I can not answer that question.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): The purpose of the motion is to prevent the calling for the previous question. The rules provide that not more than four hours shall be allowed for discussion on any question. This means that whenever a delegate arises whose name is on the list he can move the position that you were before.

DEL. BRESNAHER (Ohio): I want to speak against the motion because it will be very easy to a great number of names to be placed up there in such a way that some people they get away and others would not have a chance to present their views at all. I want to say right now that I am opposed to anything of that kind, and that I am opposed to any states being arranged for certain ones who have charge of this convention. I want this convention to be left open, and absolutely free. I am opposed to anything being fixed up so that some may get favors.

The previous question was then moved and seconded.

DEL. COSGROVE: I want to speak in support of my motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: After the previous question is put the Chair will be compelled to give you the floor in closing if you desire it, but I hope the discussion will be as short as possible.

The previous question was then ordered.

DEL. COSGROVE: The idea that I had in view was this, that the names will be received in rotation as presented. I don't think that any one is going to present his name a dozen times until those who have presented them previously have had an opportunity to present their views. It is not to suppress any discussion, nor to allow a comrade to present his name so often that he may at any time call for the previous question. The motion states that all comrades presenting their names should have the opportunity to speak before the previous question is put.

DEL. KELLEY (N. J.): I understand the object in making this motion, but it is really under the rules. Yesterday, under the debate on the commission form of government the rules were not strictly enforced. If the Chairman will enforce the rules it will be unnecessary to have a list of speakers sent up here. You have four hours talk on every subject that comes up for discussion. I know in the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund they kept a speakers' list, and the last convention continued fifteen days owing to such a rule. Let the Chairman enforce the spirit of the rule which is to divide the time as nearly as possible, which he can do very readily

by asking the delegate on which side he wishes to speak and recognizing each side in rotation. This will accomplish the object of the comrade from New Jersey and at the same time will not make it impossible for us to get through with our business in the time that we have fixed.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the rules be suspended, and that it be provided that in the discussion of reports delegates desiring the floor shall send their names in writing to the Chairman; that the Chairman shall keep a list of such names and that the Chairman shall recognize the delegates in the order in which their names have been received; and that when the previous question has been carried all those whose names are at that time upon the list shall nevertheless have the right to speak before the vote is taken.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I rise to offer an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: No amendment is in order. All in favor of suspending the rules will say aye. Those opposed, no.

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I offer the following motion. That the previous question shall not be ordered until a number of the speakers upon either side of the proposition under discussion to present their views.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair rules that motion out of order for the reason that it is impossible to demand of a Chairman authoritative knowledge whether a man is speaking for or against a proposition. Our rule states that so far as possible the Chair shall recognize both sides equally, but you can not make a rule that an equal number of persons shall be heard on both sides. The report of the Auditing Committee will be presented.

The report of the Auditing Committee was then read.

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party:

Comrades—We, your Audit Committee, beg to make the following report:

The books of the National Office are not at the convention, and it is not possible to make an Audit at this time.

We find that the books from the preceding audit were audited on April 1st, 1912, by the Paine and Book Auditing Committee, selected by the National Executive Committee, and we herewith submit their report with recommendations made by them.

AUDIT OF NATIONAL OFFICE FINANCES.

Telephone Randolph 2592.
Telephone Automatic 62-422.
PAINE & BOOK AUDIT CO.
Not Inc.

Public Accountants and Auditors,
Commercial National Bank Building,
Corner Adams and Bank Sts.
Chicago, April 25, 1912.

National Executive Committee, The Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill:

Gentlemen—In accordance with your instructions we have audited the books of the National Office of the Socialist Party for the period September 1, 1911, to April 1, 1912, and submit herewith, as of April 1, 1912:

General Ledger Trial Balance, National Office Statement of Assets and Liabilities, National Office General Ledger Trial Balance, Lyceum Department Statement of Assets and Liabilities, Lyceum Department General Ledger Trial Balance, all of which we hereby certify to be correct

Our audit comprehended the following:

Verified Entries of Cash Received and Distribution of Same with Stub of Secretary's Receipts.

Verified Entries of Cash Paid and Distribution of Same, with Canceled Checks and Receipts for Expenditures.

Verified Footings of Cash Received.

Verified Footings of Cash Expenditures.

Verified Mileage Reserve Fund in Separate Bank Account.

Checked Cash Book and Journal Postings to General Ledgers.

We counted the cash in the hands of the National Office cashier and Lyceum Department cashier on April 11, 1912, and found the same correct.

We made bank reconciliations under date of March 31, 1912, and found that the sum total of the checks outstanding, added to the balance shown by the cash books, agreed with the balances shown by the bank statements on that date, with the exception of the National Office account, which exceeded the bank balance by \$0.80.

We suggest that the bank exchange be paid at the end of each month instead of daily as is your custom. The bank will charge your account with the exchange for pass book.

We recommend that a "petty cash" account be opened in the general ledger, charging same with a sufficient amount to constitute a working or petty cash fund; by a voucher covering O. K'd memoranda (disbursements), cashed and the fund restored to the original amount.

We recommend that a regular form of pay roll book be used, the same to be approved at the time salaries are paid.

We further recommend that separate books be used for cash received and cash paid, which will facilitate the work and be less expensive than your present method.

We also suggest that a date be fixed each year for the closing of the books.

We recommend that a book be used for the purpose of listing the furniture and fixtures and the cost. This book should be in agreement with the furniture and fixture inventory in the general ledger. A perpetual inventory of this kind will be very valuable in case of fire.

We also recommend that a more up-to-date system of billing be adopted in order to save time and expense.

Respectfully submitted,
PAINE & BOOK AUDIT CO.
By H. S. Paine

SOCIALIST PARTY, NATIONAL HEAD-QUARTERS.

GENERAL LEDGER TRIAL BALANCE, APRIL 1, 1912.

Dr.	Cr.
Lyceum Department, \$3,047.22	
Mileage Reserve Fund 9,285.89	
Outstanding Accounts 1,319.09	
Organizers 1,070.21	
Chas. H. Kerr Co.	\$ 161.25
Louis Kopeln Press	
Bureau	340.00
Appropriations	
Bank and on	1,770.00
Hand	7,596.55
Description Cards	
Subscription	780.00
Commission on Sub-	
ditions	120.00
National Cards	
Stationery and Sup-	34,129.10
plies	
Printing and Liters	2,830.99

ture, 1911	3,379.96
Printing, 1912	5,704.18
Literature, 1912	2,702.62
Buttons	174.21
Campaign Fund	
Furniture and Fix-	
tures	
Refund	1,809.63
National Executive	17.71
Committee	
Express and Freight	847.45
Postage	1,563.42
Exchange	2,336.14
General Expense	703.33
Telephone	65.70
Telegrams and Tele-	366.19
phone	
Wages	235.31
Organizing	1,763.36
Donations and Collec-	2,891.18
tions	
Discount	
H. G. Adair	921.59
Empire Paper Com-	101.72
pany	681.50
A. B. Dick Company	4.00
B. W. Heubsch	24.30
Macmillan Company	1.35
James H. O'Neil Com-	1.26
pany	
F. J. Kain & Son	150.00
P. F. Pettibone & Co.	322.50
Partridge & Anderson	10.45
Saul Bros.	41.25
John F. Jordan	38.50
Sullivan-Blakey Com-	
pany	
Tantum Paper Mills	2.25
H. D. Stodney	9.74
Store	
Milwaukee Social Dem.	23.45
Pub. Company	
Equity Series	47.75
The Elliott Company	12.50
Std. Card Appropri-	1.10
ation	
Appropriation, Organ-	50.00
izing	
Appropriation, Press	3,106.28
U. S. Express Com-	100.00
pany	
Reggie Strawn, Works	353.19
Pelcher-Hamilton Com-	1.75
pany	
George H. Doren Com-	117.48
pany	
J. W. Butler Paper	1.29
Company	
Joshua Wanhopé	15.09
Globe Engraving &	
Charged Off Accounts	30.00
National Office, Net	25.00
Balance	97.40

Balance	15,253.78
STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES, APRIL 1, 1912.	
ASSETS.	\$57,051.35
Cash in Bank and on Hand	\$7,596.55
Mileage Reserve Fund	9,285.89
Outstanding Accounts	1,319.09
Subscription Cards	780.00
Literature	2,829.96
Stationery and Supplies	3,379.96
Furniture and Fixtures	1,742.21
Lyceum Department	1,809.63
Organizers	3,047.22
Balance	1,070.21
LIABILITIES.	\$31,243.75

NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

LIABILITIES.

H. G. Adair.....	\$ 681.50
Empire Paper Co.....	4.00
A. B. Dick Co.....	24.30
B. W. Hansen.....	1.75
The Macmillan Co.....	1.26
Jas. H. O'Neil Son.....	180.00
F. J. Kahn & Sons.....	322.34
P. F. Pettibone Co.....	10.45
Partridge & Anderson.....	41.25
Sau Bros.....	38.50
John F. Blakey Co.....	9.75
Sullivan Paper Mills.....	23.45
Tarleton Stationery Store.....	47.75
Horder Democratic Pub. Co.....	12.50
Socialist Series.....	1.10
Edwin Elliott Co.....	353.19
The Express Works.....	1.75
Ember-Hamilton Co.....	117.48
Geo. H. Doran Co.....	1.29
J. W. Butler Paper Co.....	15.09
Globe Eng. & Electro. Co.....	30.00
Chas. H. Kerr Co.....	25.00
Appropriations.....	161.25
Net Difference Between Receipts and Disbursements.....	1,770.00
National Office, Net Balance.....	12,107.28
	15,259.78
	\$31,243.75

SOCIALIST PARTY, NATIONAL HEAD-QUARTERS.

GENERAL LEDGER TRIAL BALANCE.

LYCEUM DEPARTMENT.

APRIL 1, 1912.

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P. S. Brown..... 275.55

Ernest Moore..... 134.23

J. W. Butler..... 1.12

Horner's Stationery..... 38.80

Store..... 48.00

F. J. Kahn & Sons..... 60

Partridge & Anderson..... 60

G. B. Williams..... 2.00

Battershall & Olson..... 6.00

Trade Circular Ad.....

Verlising Company.....

Pennsylvania.....

Accounts.....

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Subscription Cards.....

Commission.....

Cost of Subscription.....

\$192,856.48

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Ernest Moore..... 134.23

J. W. Butler..... 1.12

Horner's Stationery..... 38.80

Store..... 48.00

F. J. Kahn & Sons..... 60

Partridge & Anderson..... 60

G. B. Williams..... 2.00

Battershall & Olson..... 6.00

Trade Circular Ad.....

Verlising Company.....

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NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

to reach the trade unionists and I want more spent in that way; but there are only two millions of them; we have spent all the resources on that small fraction in the effort to reach the few who meet them and other industries, and no one of workingmen anywhere near the number found upon the farms of this country.

Take hold of this program, criticize it; tear it to pieces if you can. But I do hope that before you leave this hall you will say that as for the Socialist party of the United States, we are going to take a stand at least ahead of the insurgents and progressives and radical means to capture the vote of the smugness in the United States; peasant proprietors in the United States; I do hope that we are going to take a step ahead of them; that we are going to make the Socialist party of America the actual expression on the political field of the

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman Lee called the convention to order at 2:30 p. m.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

The tellers reported the following vote on the standing Committee on Education:

May Wood Simons, 174.

George R. Kirkpatrick, 166.

Emil Seidel, 160.

Frank Sanford, 154.

Caroline Pratt, 152.

John C. Kennedy, 118.

Warren Atkinson, 109.

The foregoing delegates were declared elected as the standing Committee on Education.

FARMERS' PROGRAM.

THE CHAIRMAN: The report of the Committee on Farmers' Program has been made. There is a motion to adopt the report as a whole. There is a substitute motion to resolutions serial. Comrade Ohso! recommends that the floor.

DEL. OHOSOL (Mass.): I wish to speak against the adoption of the report as a whole for this reason: There is a confusion in points 1, 2 and 7.

In point No. 1 does not state whether the Socialist party aims to introduce the land as a Socialist institution. It is not clear, but out from the other means which is socially owned. It is different, and ownership will be something different, that land will be owned by private owners, whether that be the intention or not, in there.

And in the second clause you see that land cannot be used by those who do not till it. Consequently it is natural that the only title to land—that will be in the hands of those who occupy and till it. That means the support of small farmers and nothing else; the same thing has been rejected by the Social Democratic party of Germany and also in Russia, agrarian reforms have been considered a whole.

This recommendation promises the wage earners in the better off. Just why they will be better off if live stock is insured to them I do not know. There is nothing with hands and try to better their condition. It only deals with farmers and

fire working class, of the entire human race.

Comrades, we stand today at the parting of the ways. We are making tremendous inroads into the factory workers. The only hope that capitalism has to sweep back the on-rolling tide of revolution is to bank up against us the workers of the farm. To them they are appealing; to them they are offering everything that capitalism can offer to stay on the backs of the workers. We must go not be relieved while he is being ridden to him with the Gospel of that we alone come to him with the Gospel of freedom of liberty, of emancipation of social ownership, of everything necessary to the production of wealth and the satisfaction of life.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The hour of 1 o'clock having arrived, the convention stands adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

small occupants. We must distinguish between those two points. The Socialist party is a party of the working class, it does not undertake to relieve the burden of all classes of society. However, we take it that there are some classes that will suffer. What the farmers may want in State, they may not want in another State. What they may want in one country they may reject in another. In Mexico they demand confiscation of the land. In this country they would reject that proposition. In one country they would stand for small ownership and in another country they would stand against it. In one there might be one thing proper and in another some-thing different. Therefore, a policy should be adopted that is consistent. We are dealing with principles, and not with a program. A program must contain only those demands which the Socialist party as a working class party wishes to carry out, and not the wishes of farmers, grocery whether they are small farmers. We must distinguish any stratum of ownership and forms of tillage. Those things are entirely different. The form of ownership may be state or national ownership, but the form of tillage must adapt itself to the means of production and the machinery we use and the form of distribution we are dealing with. These are confused in the report. It leaves the tenancy and occupancy to those who are tilling, and it tries to unite the ownership is concentrated in Canada, the ownership has entirely disappeared. The land may be tilled by small farmers having 60 acres or 160 acres.

At this point Del. Ohso! was interrupted by farmers having 60 acres or 160 acres. Comrade Ohso! stated that the motion for Del. Duffy (N. Y.) to adopt the motion as a whole, and next the substitute motion by Del. Stobodin (N. Y.) to receive the report and act upon the recommendations.

DEL. STOBODIN: I want to make a point of order. I do not want to interrupt the comrade who is speaking, but since he has been interrupted, I will make it. We must dispose first of the amendment, and if the amendment is adopted, then we will discuss it serially and is under discussion. If the amendment is defeated, then his general argument will be in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is Comrade Merrill willing to accept the substitute?

DEL. MERRILL (N. Y.): Comrade Merrill is willing to accept it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to the acceptance of the substitute? The motion before the house then is that the report be received and the propositions of these propositions necessarily it will not be possible to restrict a speaker to one particular recommendation at a time. We will, however, as rapidly as the house sees fit, vote upon the recommendations. Then after recommendation one has been adopted or rejected it will not be in order to discuss any more than is absolutely necessary that recommendation. The speakers will strive as far as possible to adhere to the serial method of discussion, but the Chair will not attempt to enforce it absolutely.

DEL. OHOSOL: I will confine my remarks to the first clause.

DEL. EDWARDS (Tex.): I want to find out if he is discussing the subject or the body of the report.

THE CHAIRMAN: The technical matter is still felt to be Comrade Stobodin's motion. The motion is to receive the report and act upon the recommendations serially. If there is no objection, I will put that motion.

The motion was put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before the house now is the adoption of the first recommendation. Comrade Ohso! has the floor, but in the discussion of the first recommendation he will, of course, have to discuss it in relation to those which are to follow, but he will adhere as closely as possible to the first.

DEL. OHOSOL: I am now going to pass to the first clause, because it leaves out lands. It is impossible to leave out those big storage plants, those in socially transportation, if you do not own them, it itself upon which those storage plants and other means are erected. That is one thing. The other thing is that if the farmers own land they are supposed to produce for subsistence only, not for the market. That is the only possibility to keep the occupant out of competition, out of the large world market. As long as you produce for the market, for those storage plants and for those means of transportation you have to have some control over this method of production. That is the only possible way to introduce co-operative action, which will be governed by the next clause if you own the land. As a matter of fact, all Socialist parties have come to that view. The German Socialist party started to debate on the agrarian question in 1870 and from time to time till 1908, when it was postponed. The only recommendation which has been brought out thus far was that of Comrade Kantisky at one of the various German Socialist assemblies, that the land should be owned by the state. If you take the present state you cannot possibly leave any private ownership of land, and for that reason the small farmers in Germany and elsewhere have become bankrupt. For that reason they have not been able to pay with the machinery owned by the large land owners.

In the second place the large land owners, deprived of those banks who advanced them money under mortgages, and if they mortgages can now be taken in application to the State at a lower percentage, and payments he has heretofore had to pay to private owners of capital or bankers.

The next recommendation which has been thus far advanced is the abolishment of all

those restrictions which try to tie the farmer with a certain form of taxation. You cannot possibly distinguish between land which is privately owned by more land owners, and if that is the case you leave private ownership of land.

DEL. MORGAN (Minn.): A point of order. I understand that now we are discussing the first clause.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair has clearly stated that in the discussion of the first section it will be impossible to prevent the speakers from considering the later sections.

DEL. MORGAN: But he is discussing the second now.

THE CHAIRMAN: He is undoubtedly discussing that in connection with the point of order would be made. Comrade Ohso! would have a right to get up eight times and have altogether forty minutes to speak instead of five. We will get along much more expeditiously by not insisting on the point of order.

DEL. OHOSOL: Cut out "land" from the first section, which means transportation and storage, and it means that you have to confine yourselves either to land owners or land tenants. Now, if you introduce such a form of ownership you will have to have tenants of the State and you will have to care for them. You can supervise and lay down the conditions of tenancy, either 30 years or more. You can lay down conditions of tillage of the soil, but as soon as you do you introduce an actual form of ownership. So you introduce this to them, or you do not recognize any form of property. What is the use of singling out land from all other means of production? Small stores and small shops are also tools of production which are used now, and which are also in the stage of tenancy. The same means are erected. That is one thing. The other thing is that if the farmers own land they are supposed to produce for subsistence only, not for the market. That is the only possibility to keep the occupant out of competition, out of the large world market. As long as you produce for the market, for those storage plants and for those means of transportation you have to have some control over this method of production. That is the only possible way to introduce co-operative action, which will be governed by the next clause if you own the land. As a matter of fact, all Socialist parties have come to that view. The German Socialist party started to debate on the agrarian question in 1870 and from time to time till 1908, when it was postponed. The only recommendation which has been brought out thus far was that of Comrade Kantisky at one of the various German Socialist assemblies, that the land should be owned by the state. If you take the present state you cannot possibly leave any private ownership of land, and for that reason the small farmers in Germany and elsewhere have become bankrupt. For that reason they have not been able to pay with the machinery owned by the large land owners.

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unanimously in favor. I don't care whether you agree with me or not. My middle name is fight anyway. I don't care how much you agree. I insist that you comrades do recognize any movement of the working class. I want to say more, while I have the floor, that by us ignoring the I. W. W. or that organization in consideration here, we do more to compel members of our party to leave the movement, because there are so many members of the party that say that we are cowards, that

Dr. D. C. Davis, of the American Farm Bureau, in opposition to the acceptance of the amendment proposed, said it would read "and that the patents used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery, where such patents are used, shall be socially owned for exploitation, shall be socially owned and democratically managed." The plan used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery are always used for exploitation, because the workers are not allowed to produce this machinery, they cannot be used in any other way, and at the same time I want to speak in behalf of the unnamed section. I am representing a farming community of New York, and I have recently had an opportunity and I have recently had a chance to make a two months' trip to study the situation of those farming sections in this, that I do not raise enough food and so on. There the chief problem is this, that they have to buy it from the west. So this is a national problem, and the means of transportation and storage being owned socially are absolutely necessary for the elimination of the conditions under which the farmers are suffering in that section of the State of New York, and I presume other sections throughout the east. Therefore I am very much in favor of the section unnamed.

DELL EDWARDS (Tex.): I am perfectly willing to have the committee rewrite that section. I believe it is possible to make clear, I believe it is possible to make the section as it is phrased, and then remember some of the questions that are asked by audiences, you will see the necessity of making it clear. One of the questions asked will be, "Do you want to have a wagon and a corn crib socially owned and democratically administered?" Now, of course, the committee did not mean that, and if the committee or the chairman will suggest some phrase that will just make it clear that we refer to such means of production and transportation as the date gate from New York has just mentioned, that will answer the purpose.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee has accepted the amendments in substance. The exact wording of that amendment, I suppose will not be quibbled over between the different comrades, because it is understood, of course, that it is not strictly capital means that we refer to.

DELL THOMPSON (Wis.): It has been stated that the committee accepted this amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is accepted, considerably scattered. I am a member of the committee, and I do not want to accept it, I think it would be bad policy to correct that phrase in there. I simply want to correct that statement.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the committee does not agree to accept it, all right. I understood the committee accepted it.

DELL WRIGHT (Neb.): Two years ago this committee was elected for the purpose of studying the problems of the agricultural, and for two years this committee, or most of them, have been busy studying this problem. As for myself, I have labored over this question, and my head has ached. We find ourselves at this time not thoroughly educated in this great problem. The very fact that the committee and every student of this great question have been waiting anxiously for the last census report and have not been able to get it, proves that to arrive at a complete understanding of the evolution of farm industry is as yet an impossibility. Every day some new force is making its appearance in connection with the evolution of agriculture. I have just been informed recently of this fact, which I dare say the average farmer has not taken into consideration, and perhaps does not know. That Europe is even alarmed over the possibility of not being able to get the usual food supply which Europe gets from American agricultural exports. I cite this fact to show that along with this hundreds of other fundamental problems are making their appearance. You cannot lay down a specific line of action in connection with those things which are yet in the hands of the experimental station and in the minds of the inventors, and which are as yet not seen or well as European capital is now competing to seize upon land, not because it is so much more productive of investment has been closed up, with the result that America has been discovered, civilized and its civilization discovered, most to the limit. Now the money is hunting for an investment, and it is seeking land as an outlet. Capital has been moved to take hold upon farming. The inventor's mind is being turned in the direction of improving farm methods; not due to the efforts of the farmer, but to the

prospects of dividends as seen by the manufacturing class, who use the inventor and scientist to further the ends of the capitalist class. Just exactly what the end of this course will be, I do not know; nobody knows. Only those things which can be analyzed up to this time can be dealt with. This report has not been thrown together in a haphazard manner. This report is just as complete as it can be, just as scholarly as it is possible, and economically sound as it can be, to produce at this time. It reaches just as far as we are able to analyze the situation. I can understand very readily why one objection will come from one part of the United States, while an entirely different objection will come from another part. The new clause introduced leaves it open for the states in their state platforms to conform to the conditions of their particular sections. What we do require now, in view of the fact that we do see that the capitalist landlords, speculators and land grabbers seize an opportunity for manipulation, is that we must have a national declaration which aims a blow at this class of parasites, to get them off the farmer's back. We must have a national declaration which will involve the means of exploitation in manufacturing lines which reach the farmer. This you have got, and this declaration as to a national program covers every phase of this question that can possibly be dealt with intelligently, and the more we fuss with it, the worse you are going to make it, and we are likely to end up here with no program at all. But no matter how we end the discussion, there are a number of students of economics, they have been attracted to this question, they will study it, not for the next year, but for the next twenty years, and it will be the time become clearer on this matter as we progress.

DELL TAYLOR (Ill.): I would like to ask for information whether this clause in regard to exploitation was suggested by the idea that this as it reads now would take in the individual wagon, the ownership of a wagon in which a man takes goods from his farm to the warehouse or the railroad.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair understands that that was the reason for making that amendment.

DELL TAYLOR: Then I move as a substitute for the amendment that the word "social" be put before the word "means" in the first line of this clause; "the Socialist party demands that social means" and so forth.

DELL OHSEL (Mass.): I have an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Ohsel of Massachusetts moved that in the first line the word "land" be inserted so that it shall read, "The Socialist party demands that land and the means of transportation and storage," etc. This amendment will also be before the house.

DELL SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Why do we demand the collective ownership, as in our platform, of the means of transportation, first, as a step to our final end, the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution; and second, for the purpose of improving the conditions of the workmen that work in these United States. Is that the reason why the Socialist Report contains the demand for social ownership of the means of transportation? Is the farmer interested in our final aim, which is the improvement of some of the means of production himself? Is he interested in improving the condition of the

workmen who work on the railways? No. What is it that he is interested in first? He wants the means of transportation to be more efficient and cheaper. That is why that is included in the farmers' program, so that the farmer may get more efficient service and pay less for it. You see very readily that there is a conflict between the interests of the men who work on the railways and the interests of the small farmer who uses those railways. The one demands the highest wages he can get, which means increase in the cost of transportation. The farmer demands a lower cost of transportation, which eventually means less wages. They must reconcile the meaning and intent of our general program with the program laid down in this report. Why is it this farmers' program that has so forcibly stated that there are about three million small tenant agriculturists, most of the three or four million agricultural wage slaves? Why don't they say one word about the agricultural workers? There is about the agricultural workers? There is not one word about that. Ten years ago this question was discussed and Delegate Simons agreed that he was wrong at that time. He corrected the party at that time, he opposed him at that time. I remember that I opposed him at that time. I don't say the farmers' problem or that the agricultural problem is not of importance, but we have so many irons in the fire and the getting of the movement to the proletariat is so important that we are not ready to take up this agricultural problem. Let us first approach the wage slave. Let us get our message of Socialism to the agricultural workers, those that work on the farms, then when we have succeeded to some extent in that the next step will be to get the same message to the tenant farmers of America. If there is to be an agrarian program on the part of the Socialist party it should be addressed to agricultural workers and nobody else.

DELL L. L. RHODES (Tex.): I wish to say that this farmers' program that is before the convention satisfies the people of the south. While I am sure that it will not help the people of the cities it will help us largely in advancing the cause of Socialism in the southland. We are not as radical as you are, we stand for that you people of the north stand for that you have never had to contend with the Bourbon democracy of the south.

A DEL. RHODES: I thank God.

DELL RHODES: I want to say thank God, too. The program is certainly clear enough. It doesn't hurt you. It aids us. It makes it possible for us to make inroads and progress in a country that has been largely unoccupied. We join you in your program. We only ask you people who know nothing about our section of the country since this farmers' program can not hurt you to at least let us have it in our state down there.

DELL MORGAN (Minn.): I am opposed to the last amendment to insert the word "land." In Minnesota where I travel a food deal among the farmers, many of them are coming to us and the point on which so many of them have split has been the argument constantly set up by the opponents of Socialism who say: "These Socialists propose to take your little farm, or your house and lot and they propose to make it all public property. Now the effect of that was so great that an amendment was introduced to the national platform and carried; and that is the one that has commended itself to our farmers. They are willing to concur in the platform that we have adopted, against the private own-

ership of land and means of production used for exploitation. They agree with that. They agree that no man should be allowed to hold land for the purpose of exploiting his fellow man. But he ought to own, until the conditions have radically changed, he ought to own his little house and lot; he ought to own his little patch of land so long as he is using it for the support of himself and family and not to exploit others, and that plan, that statement has brought thousands of farmers to us. Now if you put this word "land" in the farmers' program and the means of transportation shall be socially owned we shall have that this question has been asked me hundreds of times: Do you fellows propose to take my little house and lot away from me so that I won't have a place of my own to lay my hands, and we have referred them to the platform and said yes. If you use your house and land to exploit somebody else, renters or anybody else, anything of that kind, that will be the ultimate outcome, but so long as you use it simply for your own good you will not be deprived of the ownership of that value of which you have so largely produced yourself. That statement has brought us hundreds of farmers; that statement has succeeded in bringing those people to us. But if you simply adopted this last amendment you have simply knocked in the old platform to pieces. We are back in the old fight again, and we can not own even a piece of land to be buried in, and I will have to turn over the graves of three of my dear ones to the Socialist commonwealth at some future time. I shall have to beg a place to bury them in under those circumstances.

DELL SLAYTON (Pa.): I am not now a farmer, but I was raised as one. That is the reason I grew so tall. I am not in favor of that part of the amendment that says "the land." I am in favor of the reasons given by my comrades but I wish to say in reply to Comrade Slobodin when he asks if there will not be a conflict between those working on the railroad who want higher wages and the farmers who want cheaper transportation. Yes. But if we shall not make a demand for social ownership for that reason will not the same conflict rage between the farmer who raises his produce for sale and the men in town, the workers in the city to whom that produce is sold? Does not the wage earner in the town ask more wages in order that he may get more of the product of the farmer, and does not the farmer raise the price of his product if he can, to get more of the wages of the worker? Therefore you are not changing the program any. If it is inconsistent to ask for the social ownership of the things named in paragraph 1 or recommendation 1, it is inconsistent anywhere else. I insist that this is not a special program for the farmers as indicated by my comrades down here, any more than it is a special program for the wage earner when you ask for the social ownership of the shop in which the worker can exist half slave and half free, that is what when you ask for immediate demand for the wage worker in town you ask for more wages, if it is a special program for more wages, if it is a special program to ask the same things for the farmer then it is a special program to ask it for the wage worker.

live, the home, the land used for productive purposes also?

DEL. DEVOLD: The ownership of land nowadays is vested in a piece of paper. We propose to do away with that kind of ownership. We propose to make land public, like all other means of production and distribution. There is the point right there. Do you wish public ownership of land or private ownership of land? If we stand for the public ownership of land, why do we throw a sop to the farmers and tell them that we don't stand for it?

COM. SIMONS: Do I have the floor in reply?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair can only say that under his understanding of the rules the committee does not have the floor at the close of the debate.

DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): We did that yesterday.

THE CHAIRMAN: If that is desired you will have to overturn the ruling of the Chair.

DEL. FENNER (Mass.): Was not the rule that the chairman of the committee should have twenty minutes to reply?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair finds no such statement in the rules.

DEL. WILLIS (Okla.): Does not Section 2 explain that proposition? The Chair cannot answer the question because it is not a question of parliamentary law. Insert the words, "for the house is used for exploitation."

When such means are used for exploitation, as mobilizing "means of transportation and storage" of the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery, there are two amendments, and I am willing to you the amendment of Section 2, and I am willing to insert the words, "wherein such means are used for exploitation."

The motion of Edwards of Texas was declared carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The vote recurs on the amendment by Ohso! of Massachusetts to insert the word "land" after the word "chair" in the first line so that the paragraph will read: "The Socialist Party demands that land, the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery, when such are now used for exploitation, shall be socially owned and democratically managed." All those in favor of the motion of Comrade Ohso! to insert those words will say aye.

DEL. STREBEL (N. Y.): In other words, we understand that it is in the nature of an immediate demand, part of the immediate program of the Socialist Party, and not a pronouncement on fundamental principles. (Cries of "yes" and "that is the idea.")

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I should like to inquire if that idea is incorporated in that article.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate can answer that question for himself just as well as the Chair can answer it for him, because I suppose the delegates have read the article.

DEL. SLOBIN (N. Y.): Assuming that all this is carried and you have adopted it, and assuming that the result is as you anticipate, and the farmers rush into the Socialist Party and they begin to have great weight in the Socialist Party, and then suppose the unions go out and work against the party, what will be the position of Simons?

COM. SIMONS: I can answer for Comrade Simons: I will be with the agricultural laborers.

Section 2 of the recommendation was then adopted.

Section 3 was then read as follows:

"We demand the retention by the national, state or local governing bodies of all land owned by them, and the continuous purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise, such land to be organized as rapidly as possible into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective, agricultural enterprises."

DEL. OHSEL (Mass.): I move to substitute the words "gradual acquisition" for the words "continuous acquisition" in the second line.

DEL. MORGAN (Minn.): This gentleman had the floor and I wanted to call your attention to the fact that he was discussing the whole question. You ruled that he had better get up once than ten times.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is necessary to exercise some discretion in this discussion. I hope the delegate will not arise to speak on every plank. I think the house will recognize that it is fair to have this amendment settled one way or the other.

DEL. OHSEL: Comrade Thompson said that the third section covered exactly the point that we wanted to cover in the first section, the question of the socialization of the land. Now, if the third section is to mean this, it should be clear. There is an ambiguity. It states "the continuous acquisition of other land." As it stands now it has already the land which is recovered by reclamation. That can be publicly owned under the capitalist government. If you mean all land you should say all land, besides that now owned by the state or nation. It is only fair to be clear on this point.

If you say gradual acquisition of the land you will then have the people gradually becoming owners of all the land, whether used for transportation or putting of stock or any other agricultural purpose. Therefore, I suggest that all those comrades who really stand for the socialization of the land support this amendment. Let it be clear. It may evenally come about that the agricultural laborers will have to have two parties, one for the farmers and one for the agricultural laborers. All those in favor of public ownership of lands should support the amendment.

DEL. BYRD (Tex.): I happen to have been born and raised on a farm. My father

used to call me at 4 o'clock in the morning and keep me at it until 9 o'clock at night. So I didn't have the best education, but with the amendment that are you going to question, in Texas what are you going to do about the land? The land shall not be sold, strangers and sojourners with ye are evilious 25-23. Now, I want to me, to my friend that I don't have say to go back to Scripture to find that there is a divine law. I say to the men and women that asked me that question: "Haven't you intelligence enough, my dear friends, to know that none of your ancestors, nor any of your ancestors' ancestors, nor any of your ancestors' ancestors, made any part of this old earth. You know as well as I that no living man made any part of it. Therefore, he has no more right to own any part of it. My friend over there said he wanted a place to settle himself and his family. I have a 3200 acres of fine river bottom land on the Colorado River. He is as strong as the class-conscious Socialist as ever came down the pike, and he is willing at any time within the people want to socialize the land, take all the land with the amendment thereof. Thus said the Lord. "The land shall not be sold for ever."

I want to know whether the Socialists of the United States are in favor of the collective ownership of the earth or just a part of it. I want to say to you that until we own the whole earth and reduce government to a science of producing and distributing wealth, based on labor, you can never have a sensible Socialist organization. Suppose I was John D. Rockefeller and I wanted to build a railroad. I would have to have the land to build it on. Suppose I want to have a factory where we manufacture cotton. I have a picture of a cotton picker that picks cotton by machinery. That machine will do the work of twenty men and it only requires one man and a boy to operate it. What are you going to do with the 18 men thrown out of work? What machine does not eat anything? What are you going to do with the grocery man? What machine does not require any clothes? That machine is to become of the shoemaker? That machine does not require any clothes. What machine does not require any clothes? That machine is to become of the tailor? That machine, my dear friends, never goes into litigation. What is to become of the lawyers? And last, but not least, what machine has no soul? And what will become of the preacher? I am here to tell you that you will do a wise act if you adopt this comrade's proposition and declare for all the people, the fullness thereof for all the people.

DEL. STRICKLAND (Ohio): Now that so many of us are going to lose our jobs, I think that we want this section pretty clear, and since this is to explain our position with reference to the land, I move to amend the amendment by putting the word "productive" in there, making it read "all other productive land." If I get a second to the amendment I should like to speak to it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the word "productive" will cover the case. The comrade wants to repeat the words "used for exploitation." I think that is not sufficient. I think the word "productive" is sufficient. The reason I think we ought to use that qualifying word is that we have not reached an agreement on how we are going to own our little garden patch or in what way we

shall have title to our homes. I think the amendment as stated by the comrade who referred to Laythons 25-23 will not cover the case. I think we are not in unit on this question of God, and we don't want to take a question with reference to the ownership of the home or the home land, but we do want the ultimate collective ownership of all productive land. Therefore, I offer this amendment.

DEL. STABLAND (Kan.): In this discussion the main feature has been whether we shall stand for the collective ownership of all lands, or whether we shall stand for the private ownership of land so long as the private is not used for purposes of exploitation. That, briefly stated, has been the floor to call your attention to one fact. The supreme power of the Socialist Party is the referendum ballot of the rank and file. At the last convention in 1908 the convention adopted a declaration for the public ownership of all land, and in about three months' time, by an overwhelming majority vote of the membership, that declaration was repealed. If you wish to adopt a farmers' program you should adopt a party program that the rank and file of the party want; and I do not believe that the rank and file of the Socialist Party has seriously changed their mind on that proposition. Now, I believe personally that no man will in the far distant future that no man will privately own a place to settle himself or a garden spot but I do not believe that social development has reached the point that we should demand that from that it will ever wrong in the prediction that it will ever come. This is a matter of making predictions. We want a program that fits with the present conditions. At the present time we are not ready for the nationalization or public ownership of all land, and for that reason I think that any amendment to any part of this program that would call for immediate public ownership of all land should be voted down.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, the Secretary will proceed to read the resolutions that are before us.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolution from Tacoma, protesting against Judge Hanford. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Garrison (Ind.) against speakers of the party exciting race prejudice. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution from Local New York in regard to establishing publishing concerns for the party. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution from Local New York urging campaign for universal adult suffrage. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Mary E. Gelfs and others as to possible candidates for President and Vice-President. Referred to Committee on Vice-Presidents.

Resolution from Local Glenville, Scotia, N. Y. offering a plan of Socialist control of the means of production and distribution. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by W. P. Collins as to paying expenses of contesting delegates. Referred to Committee on Constitution.

Resolution by W. P. Collins as to referendum nominations for President and Vice-President. Referred to Committee on Ways and Means.

Resolution by eighteen members, Ohio delegation charging the party with becoming

ing conservative. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
 Resolution by Delegate Alexander and others opposing commission for amendment. Referred to Committee on Constitution. Article 2, Section 5 of Constitution. Referred to Committee on Constitution.
 Resolution from Young Socialists' League, Philadelphia, for a National Committee of Young Socialists' Leagues. Referred to Committee on Young Socialists' League.
 Resolution from Young Socialists' League, Philadelphia, for a National Socialist Sunday School Committee. Referred to Committee on Constitution.
 Resolution by E. R. Meitzen to discontinue publication of weekly syndicate articles. Referred to Committee on Constitution.
 Resolution by North Dakota delegation as to a Socialist banking program. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
 Resolution by Delegate Christian (Mont.) favoring telegram to Joseph J. Ettor and Arturo Giovannetti. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution by Delegate Oylar (Neb.) with reference to owning party press. Referred to Committee on Constitution.
 Resolution by five delegates from Oregon demanding that the organization be kept strictly of a working class character. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
 Resolution by Mary L. Getts and others as to qualifications for state political candidates. Referred to Committee on State and Municipal Program.
 Resolution by W. P. Collins and others against military character of Boy Scout movement. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
 Resolution by Delegate Zitt as to holders of political offices resigning from positions in the party. Referred to Committee on Constitution.
 Resolution by Duncan opposing the Dillingham Bill. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
 Resolution by Delegate Dempsey on the Immigration question. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
 The convention then adjourned until May 16, 1912, at 10 o'clock A. M.

FIFTH DAYS SESSION.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Lee.
 The following delegates accepted nominations for Chairman of the day:
 James V. Carey of Massachusetts.
 George H. Goebel of New Jersey.
 James A. Smith of Utah.
 Winfield R. Gaylord of Wisconsin.
 W. P. Collins of Colorado.
 The vote resulted as follows:
 Carey, 74; Goebel, 60; Clayton, 29; Collins, 18; Gaylord, 13; Smith, 6.
 Comrade James F. Carey was declared elected Chairman of the day.

The following accepted nominations for Vice-Chairman:
 Lewis J. Duncan of Montana, W. P. Collins of Colorado, May Wood Simons of Kansas, Charles A. Byrd of Texas.
 The vote resulted as follows: Simons, 100; Duncan, 47; Collins, 21; and Byrd, 10.
 Comrade Simons was declared elected Vice-Chairman of the day.

On motion, the reading of the roll call of delegates and of the minutes of the preceding day were dispensed with.
 Communications of greeting were received from the following:
 Cigarette Makers' Union of New York.
 Seventh and Eleventh Ward Branches, Workmen's Circle, Rochester, N. Y.
 Polish Section Socialist Party, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, United States of America.
 Uptown Jewish S. P. Branch, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Polish Section, Philadelphia.
 Secretary, S. P. Local, San Diego, Cal.
 Central Committee, S. P., Boston, Mass.
 George R. Lunn, Mayor, Schenectady, N. Y.
 English Speaking Socialist Club, Lawrence, Mass.
 Branch 367 Workmen's Circle, New York.
 Third Ward Branch, S. P., Elizabeth, N. J.

Branch 14, Workmen's Circle, Providence, R. I.
 United Garment Workers, No. 54, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 The following communications were read by synopsis and referred to the committee as stated:
 Petition from Jewish Branches of Cincinnati, Ohio; referred to the Committee on Constitution.
 Resolutions from Jewish Branch, Boston, Mass.; referred to Committee on Resolutions.
 Resolutions from Branch West Huntsville, Ala.; referred to the Committee on Resolutions.
 Resolutions from Local Kansas City, Mo., addressed to the Missouri delegation; read at the request, referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next order is unfinished business. I think nearly everything is unfinished. But we will now take

up report of Committee on Farmers' Program, clause 3.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FARMERS' PROGRAM.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment of Ohseal of Massachusetts which is before the convention is to strike out the words "continuous acquirement" from the third section, and to insert instead thereof "gradual acquirement of all land."
 The amendment offered by Strickland of Ohio is to insert the words "socially productive" before the word "land." On a vote the amendment to the amendment by Strickland of Ohio was lost.
 The amendment by Ohseal of Massachusetts was also lost; and the original recommendation of the committee was adopted.

DEL. STREBEL (N. Y.): Rule 23 limits debate to four hours. I should like to inquire how much of the time remains on this report.
 THE SECRETARY: We have used about three hours.

DEL. STREBEL: I move that the Chair now fix the time when the debate will close.

THE CHAIRMAN: The debate will close according to the Chairman's watch at ten minutes to eleven.

DEL. MERRICK (Pa.): I move that the debate close in thirty minutes.
 The motion was seconded and adopted.

The Secretary then read clause 4 of the farmers' program, which was adopted.
 Clause 5 and clause 6 were also adopted.
 Clause 7 was then read by the Secretary.

DEL. OHSEAL (Mass.): I move to insert the word "not" after the word "with" in the second line and to insert the word "not" after the word "and" in the third line.

DEL. PUTMAN (N. Y.): I would like to have that read as amended to see what sense it makes.

THE SECRETARY (reading): "We call attention to the fact that the elimination of farm tenantry and the development of socially owned and operated agriculture will not open new opportunities to the agricultural wage worker and will not free him from the tyranny of the private employer."
 DEL. THOMPSON (Wis.): I move that that motion be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was seconded and declared carried by the Chair. A division was then called for.

A DELIBERATE: A point of order. The motion to lay on the table is out of order as the whole proposition was a negative of the whole proposition.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. The question before us is the verification of the vote.
 DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): Does the motion to lay on the table carry the whole proposition?

"9. Land now in the possession of the State or hereafter acquired to purchase for reclamation or tax sales to be rented to landless farmers at the prevailing market rate of rent, or its equivalent payment for rent, or its equivalent payment for such rent to cease as soon as the amount of rent paid is equal to the

DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.): I wish to
on the point just raised.
THE CHAIRMAN: Do you appeal
the decision of the Chair?

is not deplorable and
or have any other sub
plied to it nor can an
it be reconsidered. It
fect from consideration
vote to take it from th

J. C. Sjoden

J. C. Kennedy
M. E. Kirkpatrick
George Koop
J. P. Larsen
Caroline A. Lowe

State	Yes	No
Calif.	E. T. Maxwell	Mary O'Reilly W. E. Rodriguez S. Steadman G. N. Reyster G. Schneider S. Conner W. V. Barnett Janet Fenimore S. C. Garrison W. H. Henry James Oneal S. M. Reynolds W. Shetter Florence Waitles J. J. Jacobson I. S. McCrillis
Iowa	Jas. Baxter Margaret D. Brown Lee W. Lang Geo. D. Brewer O. H. Blase A. W. Ricker S. M. Stallard	J. J. Jacobson I. S. McCrillis B. F. Wilson
Kans.		M. Wood-Simmons
Kent.		C. Dobbis W. Landersick
La.	J. R. Jones	G. A. England A. E. Harig J. F. Carver A. G. Fenner J. M. Caldwell R. Lawrence P. Mahoney Rose Tenner G. M. Roewer D. A. White J. G. Oshol J. F. Aitken J. A. C. Menion
Mass.	C. W. Staub	J. F. Carver A. G. Fenner J. M. Caldwell R. Lawrence P. Mahoney Rose Tenner G. M. Roewer D. A. White J. G. Oshol J. F. Aitken J. A. C. Menion
Mich.	Jas. Hooperhyde H. S. McMaster Edna Menion J. H. McFarland Marjette E. Fournier J. G. Matallala A. O. Devold	J. A. C. Menion
Minn.		M. E. Dorfman J. Hayden F. C. Kamp C. W. Sherman L. R. Schuman C. W. Ervin C. E. Foley F. H. Merrick Edw. Moore Wm. Parker A. G. Ward J. C. Young
Miss.		J. C. Young
Mo.		J. C. Young
Mont.	L. J. Duncan C. A. Smith J. B. Scott F. H. Christian	J. C. Young
Neb.		J. C. Young
Nev.		J. C. Young
N. H.		J. C. Young
N. Y.	C. J. Cosgrove W. B. Killingbeck G. Thelmer	J. C. Young
N. M.	H. Shobodin E. Lindgren A. Faury	J. C. Young
N. D.		J. C. Young
Ohio.		J. C. Young
Okla.		J. C. Young
Ore.		J. C. Young
Penn.		J. C. Young
R. I.		J. C. Young
Texas.		J. C. Young
Utah.		J. C. Young
Va.		J. C. Young
Wash.		J. C. Young
W. Va.		J. C. Young

CONDITIONS ON PACIFIC COAST.

Whereas, The railways and the various commercial associations of the Pacific coast, by false advertisements, have induced workmen to come west, thereby creating a large army of the unemployed;

Resolved, That we request that the greatest publicity be given to this matter through the Socialist press and party organizations, as a warning to the workers of the Eastern and Central States to stay away from the Pacific coast, since labor conditions there are intolerable.

I move its adoption. (Carried.)

On motion, the resolution was adopted. DEL. SPARGO: The next resolution deals with the policy of Socialist municipal administration to their employees.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES.

Whereas, The party has during the past year secured control of a number of cities, thus becoming the employer of many workers;

Resolved, That the party realizes that intellectual administration of government involves the organization of government workers in all departments under Socialist control so that each department may obtain an organized expression of the workers' point of view on administrative methods and conditions of work.

I move its adoption. (Carried.)

DEL. SPARGO: We come now to an old friend, a perennial, dealings with propaganda among the armed forces of the nation.

PROPAGANDA IN THE ARMY AND NAVY.

Whereas, In the class struggle the military is often the first and always the last resort of the ruling class; and

Whereas, The army, the navy, the militia and the police offer a fertile field for the dissemination of Socialist teachings; and

Whereas, The Socialist teaching of capitalism tends to reduce the power of the ruling class to rule and to place the working class, and thus to end the oppression and violence that labor suffers; and

Resolved, That the N. E. Committee be instructed to secure the services of a special study of war and militarism, and that such comrades or comrades have made special appropriate leaflets to distribute among soldiers, sailors, militia and police.

Resolved, That the N. E. Committee publish such leaflets and pamphlets and offer for sale through the organized effort to that in addition an organized effort be made for the distribution of such leaflets among all the armed defenders of capitalism, the rule and among all military or naval organizations and all government homes for disabled soldiers and sailors.

I move its adoption.

DEL. CASSIDY (N. Y.): I am opposed to this resolution recommended by the Committee being adopted by the convention. The point I make is this, that we should for some time support the workers

State, W. Va. Yes. H. W. Houston
W. Va. E. H. Kintner

No. C. E. Boswell

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gains, with you to pull together. I think you're right. The Socialist movement of all nationalities is one, and they, in regard to making a certain amount for dues, you cannot do it because the amounts vary in the different states. You cannot say 10 or 12 or 15 cents, but if you simply say that we pay one-half that will apply in all states.

AFTERNOON SESSION, MAY 16, 1912

[illegible]

one of those new
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thing through the
days of the
so essential for
the struggle
the Czar
Finland in his
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yet the proletarian working class has not understood that the liberation of the world can be achieved only by the united proletarian

last Party have transacted about \$200,000 worth of business. This shows that this plan laid down last Congress is not practical. This shows that it does not bring the foreign workingmen in America into touch with the Socialist movement, cannot compel him to do anything. If you could compel the Finlanders to do anything, then the Russians would have been able to compel us to do something which would have been a disaster to the thousands of peasants. There is no thing that can compel people who know their rights, to do anything.

All these foreign-speaking comrades have joined in this, and our secretariat on the platform of all of us have agreed with him. The view we have taken in this matter is not to give these foreign-speaking branches any distinctive national organization. That is the only proposition.

The proposition is to organize them, because I am one of those who believe in organization and nothing else. Organization is the only thing that will emancipate the laboring class. According to the last census there are about 18,000,000 foreign-born people in America. What are you going to do with them?

There have been comrades on the floor of this Convention who have said that in some localities, viz., in New York and in Cleveland, Ohio, as I understood, the foreign comrades in those localities have absolutely nothing to do with the local organizations. This is no fault of theirs. It is the fault of the American socialists, in that they won't do anything in the line in which with the comrades of the single Finnish organization in the local and county organizations that have been requested to do so; but in many cases the American comrades seem to have the idea that these comrades are a different sort of people, having nothing to do with the American people.

The convention then took a recess until 2:30 P. M.

These rights which are so essential for the proletariat in its class struggle are at now in danger. It is clear that the Czars of the Grand Duke of Finland, has the aid of the exploiting class of Finland in its efforts to suppress the workers. The exploiting class there, as everywhere, have forgotten all the beautiful phrases about liberty, patriotism, constitutionality and legality, which were so often on their lips before the proletariat began to gather under the red banner.

Though the Socialists of Finland are proud of having been able, first, to secure

universal suffrage for all men and women, and second, to gather over 350,000 votes for socialism during the last four years. Giving us 87 representatives in the Finnish Parliament out of a total of two hundred, twelve of these socialist representatives being women, yet the proletarian class of Finland well understand that their fight is only a part of the international struggle of the working class, and that the final emancipation of Finnish workers can be achieved only through the efforts of the united proletariat in all lands.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

At present when the liberties of our nation are being threatened more than ever before, the eyes of the comrades in Finland are in the first place upon a new rising of the Russian proletariat; and in the second place, upon the working class in the great industries of Capitalism, in depending that their awakening from a sleep of indifference is a prime condition for securing democracy and independence of the Nation.

Since coming to your country, to this mighty land of industrialism, and having opportunity to travel considerably and investigate the life and doings of the people, I am convinced that here, if anywhere, the class struggle must be fought without, rather than to race or nationality. I am glad to say that I have found the workers from our little land, whom Capitalism has driven here in search of a labor market, and even here in search of a labor market, for a time to sell their labor power for small consideration, have now in great numbers learned to speak the international language of the working class in strikes, demonstrations, American working box, together with the use of the ballot men, I am glad also to see that they are endeavoring to bring themselves closer and closer to the American working class and with that end in view have started a college for building into a real Socialist and college for the use of American workers. My dear Comrades! Returning to the Finnish question I would like to say further that I would like to direct your attention to the proletariat in that corner of the world, and I am convinced that you will grant your moral support and sympathy with the struggle of our comrades there, especially at this time when the struggle is approaching its climax. (Applause.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN-SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before the house is the report of the Committee on International Relations to which two amendments have been offered. I understand that there is committee desire that copies of these reports, at least that they should read every delegate.

DEL. GOEBEL (N. Y.): I think it is due to the delegates of this convention that every report shall be printed in order that we may know exactly what we are voting on, and move therefore that we discontinue discussion of the report at this time and ask to have it immediately printed to DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move to table that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now is upon the postponement of consideration until such time as the report is printed to DEL. STREIBEL (N. Y.): I wish to further quire if this action is deferred to report any other committee is ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is unable to reply to that question. Are you ready to reply to the question of postponing action on the report?

The motion of Delegate Goebel was then declared lost.

DEL. MAHONEY (Mass.): I move the previous question, the previous question was seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now comes upon the report of the committee and the pending amendment. One on one side and the other are entitled to five minutes each. The Chair in view of the number desiring to speak, will give the floor to members of delegations that have not spoken upon the question. Delegate Spargo of Vermont.

DEL. S. SADBIE (Vermont): Has not Delegate Spargo spoken on this question?

THE CHAIRMAN: Under parliamentary rules there is no such thing as a point of information. While every one of the delegates may need information the Chair will not recognize it. Delegate Spargo has the floor.

DEL. SPARGO (Vt.): I ask the delegates to vote in favor of the adoption of the report of the committee. I ask that in view of the experience that we have had on the National Executive Committee during all the years that I have been on that committee, it has been one of the great possible difficulties to know how to organize, efficiently, our foreign-speaking proletariat in a country where the proletariat is becoming overwhelmingly foreign speaking, handled by distinct committees it can be borne out by the experience of our committee. It is not borne out by the experience of the party in any State in this country. We want to enable our Finnish comrades, our Swedish comrades, our Jewish comrades to maintain and carry on the splendid organizations that they have formed under this method.

A DELEGATE: You have no foreigners in Vermont. What do you know about it? **DEL. SPARGO:** It is not true that we have no foreigners in the State of Vermont. We depend very largely upon the State of Vermont for our movement upon the foreigner in the industrial centers, and so far as we are concerned the industrial life of Vermont is very largely maintained by a foreign-speaking proletariat. I believe that the arrangement proposed by the committee is the best. On the other hand I believe that the amendments proposed are fatal to any effective organization of our foreign-speaking comrades in this country. It is said by way of objection to that report, and in support of the amendment that is offered, that foreign speaking locals draw out of the English-speaking locals, and go into the foreign-speaking locals. That is not an objection. It is a big advantage. That is what we want to do. What can we ask better than when a comrade coming from Italy or some other country has been in the country long enough to learn the language, and in the movement long enough to understand our party where can we use him better. In our English speaking branches or in the branches among the people of his own country, who must go through the same evolution and who need his experience and his guidance, if we are ever to have an effective organization of those people? Vote down the amendments and adopt the report of the committee as it stands.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): It is unfortunate for delegates to speak on a subject that they know nothing about. This is not a question of anything, the foreign organizations. That is point number one. Nobody wants to talk about them, and therefore, that need not be discussed. The foreign organizations will remain, whether you vote for the original motion or for the amendment. There is no question here of abolishing the translator secretaries. They will remain as they are, whether you vote for the original motion or adopt

the amendment, so that all that eloquence was wasted. What is desired here is that the language branches should remain as they are, having the translator secretaries as they have them, but that instead of buying their due stamps from the national office through the translators, they buy them from the locals and branches and state officers, and that is all that is to be discussed. Now, it is said that the Finnish organization is the most successful one, and that therefore, they must maintain the status quo. The Finnish organization is the most successful of all our foreign speaking organizations. The bulk of our members pay dues to the state organization. There is only one Finnish organization in the state of New York belonging to the national organization. The rest pay dues to the different locals or to the state organization. Here is an illustration and an answer to all the arguments against the amendment. The most successful organization is paying dues just as the amendment contemplates and why the comrades representing the Finnish organizations are against the amendment I do not understand. There is evidently some misunderstanding. The Finnish organizations would benefit by the adoption of the amendment, because now they are paying double dues. This amendment contemplates giving them a percentage of dues which they have paid, and therefore, they have no organization should certainly supply the amendment. As it is now they have to pay 150 cents and then pay again to the local or organization. Under the present arrangement, what do you pull them out of the party, the locals that in the state of New York, we have many many an organization has been pulled out of the Socialist party in this way. Now, this amendment will result in their maintaining their separate state organizations, but they will be an integral part of the Socialist party. Where the members speaking the foreign languages belong to the English speaking organizations, it is true they cannot correspond or talk to each other, but we see that this difficulty is overcome in the case of the Finnish organizations, which are able to carry on their correspondence. Therefore, we should vote for the amendment.

The question was put on the amendment to the amendment, that stamps shall be purchased from the locals, and the proposition was defeated.

The amendment was also lost.

The original motion to adopt the report of the committee was then put and carried.

On motion of Del. Russell of New York, the report of the platform committee was made a special order for an evening session tonight (Thursday), beginning at eight o'clock.

DIVISION OF TIME.

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.): I move that in all cases where committees make majority and minority reports the same amount of time be given to each report. This is not time given in the rule. I move its adoption.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will receive a motion that does not violate the rule. The rules say that the Chairman is entitled to twenty minutes; that is the chairman of the committee.

DEL. SPARGO: A point of order. At the time of the adoption of that rule, I rose and requested from the chairman of the convention a ruling upon that point, and the convention was assured that the same amount of time would be given to the chairman of the majority, and that was the understanding when we adopted that rule.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order, but if the Secretary has that upon the records, it will stand.

THE SECRETARY: That is so.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary confirms that, and it stands that the spokesman directly for the majority and minority will both be given the time stated in the rules. That stands as the rule of this body.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATIVE ALIVES.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next committee is the Committee on Co-operatives. Are they ready to report?

DEL. GAYLORD: Yes.

DEL. LINDGREN (N. Y.): I have a minority report.

THE CHAIRMAN: On what?

DEL. LINDGREN: On this co-operative movement.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well. Under the rule the minority may be heard.

DEL. LINDGREN: But the report is not in print. Is it necessary to have it in print?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not at all, if they take your word for it; if they do not for it, they will take it for granted. It is a question of whether the printing. Delegate Gaylord, for the Committee on Co-operative Commonwealth.

DEL. GAYLORD: Chairman, reporting for the Committee.

The Committee suggests that this is the Committee on Co-operative Commonwealth. I suggest that there be a misunderstanding on this subject, as there has been. I beg to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that the Committee is not appointed for that purpose, but to consider the facts relating to the co-operative movement and to make recommendations. Do I understand, Mr. Chairman, that the chairman reporting for the committee has five minutes before the vote is taken, to close the debate?

THE CHAIRMAN: I so understand it.

DEL. GAYLORD: If that is the understanding, very well. The report is very brief, and since it is nothing, but a plain statement of facts, I will with your permission read it before any argument is made.

The report of the Committee on Co-operatives was then read.

DEL. GAYLORD: This report is signed by all the members of the Committee except the Secretary. This member told me frankly that he was opposed to the co-operative movement in any sense and to having it recognized, but would not object to its being investigated, and would report further in his own behalf.

Now, the statements, which are here in this report formulated, coincide with other recorded statements of the International Socialist movement. Delegates wishing to verify this statement of mine can secure, at the literature stand in the lobby here, copies of the report of the Socialist party delegation and proceedings of the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen in 1910. I think they will charge you a nickel for it; they charged me that much.

Editor: The report is printed in full, Appendix E.

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We do not claim advantages in our report. Frankly, I am convinced personally that the report simply says that those who are most closely connected with the

Putting together these two, it looks like there were about 200 entrepreneurs within the knowledge of these comrades. A minimum statement as to the size of the business that these 200 owners had in their neighborhood would be that it looks as though there were about 2000 worth of business done by these

Now your Committee is not prejudiced in this matter one way or another; and in closing I wish simply to say this: The economic conditions in the United States are such as are made possible, and some of them are being forth this economic process, that it does not wait for us to call it. It is going on as fast as it can to undertake the organization of the opportunities any more than it is our business to undertake the organizing of labor unions of any kind. But as individual workers, if we find that under given conditions in different communities we can benefit ourselves as workers and can ben-

(Del. Lindgren then read the minority report, as follows:)

CO-OPERATIVES.

At the present stage and strength of the Socialist Party, I am opposed to it engaging in or endorsing any form of co-operative business for the following reasons:

NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

1st. That it has been the experience in those sections where efforts have been made along co-operative lines, to draw away from the party active members formerly rendering invaluable services to its propaganda work, and thus dissipating the party organization in such localities.

2nd. That in such localities the funds used in establishing co-operatives, invariably diminished the financial assistance rendered to the party organization, for propaganda and the agitation and that in this country, at this time, there are but a few, if any, sections where the Socialists are sufficiently strong in numbers to make such opposition feasible without jeopardizing the party's activity and growth.

3rd. That in such sections which have come under my personal knowledge and observation this movement has been disruptive, money lost in most cases all expended. Other reasons could be advanced to put I think the two first are sufficient to cause this convention, to recognize the proposed step of going into co-operatives, especially, business co-operative propositions as dangerous to the growth and progress of the party.

The impatience of some comrades and their enthusiasm to push the Socialist Party ahead, should not be allowed to stampede this convention, or for it to ignore the knowledge gained by experience of the past.

I therefore recommend that a committee of five (5) be selected by this convention to investigate the relation between the co-operative movement and that of the Socialist Party, not alone in its relation to the working class as consumers, but also as producers, this committee to report at the next National Congress of the Socialist Party.

Fraternalism submitted.

E. LINDGREN.

DEL. LINDGREN: I want to say that in making these statements I speak from personal experience. In Brooklyn we had several co-operative stores which failed within one year. There was probably lost during that time anywhere from three to five thousand dollars on the part of those stores. In those sections of the party or where these stores existed the party organization was, you might say, disorganized. The active members in the party organization who took up co-operative work, when these stores failed they staid away from the party organization. It required us practically a year and a half to build up the organization again in those sections of Brooklyn where the stores had existed. If I have not alone been the experience of several sections on Long Island and in some parts of New Jersey, in which, I believe, the delegates will bear me out, where co-operative stores have existed.

Another reason, which I believe is probably the strongest reason for not endorsing it, or for not proposing it, is that we have brought out Comrade Kaplan was brought out the Committee. He stated at the Committee had gone down. I asked him if it was not a fact that in Duluth, at the time when the prices went down, wages also went down, showing that the co-operative movement was no benefit for the workers and that we as much should not take up, and it is simply for a reduction in wages. Why should we bother with it? Why

should we waste our time with it? Personally I do not see anything in it. It is merely a policy of capitalism of some sort which we as Socialists should not go into. I move the adoption of the Minority Report.

(Motion seconded.)

DEL. KAPLAN (Winn): I would like to move an amendment to the Majority Report, unless Comrade Gaylord be willing to the Committee say: "Following the path of other national organizations of the Socialist party, the Socialist party of America must recognize the right of existence on the American continent, of a successful co-operative movement, if he would strike out the word 'unsuccessful' leaving the rest stand as it is in that section. I would not insist on the motion. (Amendment seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a motion to amend.

DEL. KAPLAN: Will Comrade Gaylord, or rather majority, accept that amendment?

DEL. GAYLORD: I can see what may be possibly continued here. If that means finally successful absolutely successful. I could not stand for it, of course. But Comrade Kaplan furnished the best evidence for the use of that word himself.

DEL. KAPLAN: Not unless it is understood.

DEL. GAYLORD: There are individual co-operative stores which are successful and have been so for years, and there are many of these.

DEL. KAPLAN: There are many private corporations that are also successful.

DEL. GAYLORD: That is not in the co-operative movement.

DEL. KAPLAN: Well, I ask whether you will accept that?

DEL. GAYLORD: Perhaps you better let the convention pass on that.

DEL. KAPLAN: I would like to this position: Fundamentally, it is a movement to organize the producing powers of the working class, the proletariat, and unite them as producers and the consumer in the distributive field, and if then you unite the working-class and by working class I mean the farmers and the city workers—you have the means and the possibility, even within the capitalist state, of developing an institution that will be a far greater factor than the organized trade union movement of this country. But, as I say, it all depends upon the possibility of uniting. Without the co-operative movement you cannot have co-operation.

I never made the statement as the committee of the minority report has tried to make of the minority report. I have gone into it, but I did say in reply to an question that it did not tend to an immediate reduction of wages in Duluth and elsewhere. To the question of wages, I answered, yes, and I still answer yes. But, remember, you can reduce the cost of living for a year or two down in that community and it is going to take down in that community or in the state or in the nation, and until that time comes, in the meantime you have an opportunity of developing.

DEL. TUCK (Cal): A point of order. The motion before the house is to adopt

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The Minority Report. The amendment offered is an amendment to the Majority Report, and therefore his motion is out of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair rules that Comrade Kaplan is in order. He has one minute more.

DEL. KAPLAN: As I say, I am in favor of the Majority. Report with this amendment. To me does not imply that the national Socialist party shall go on record in favor of endorsing the co-operative movement. The sole point is this: Do we consider it important enough to elect a committee for the purpose of studying this question, getting all the information and securing all the facts possible from every source available, and presenting them to the next national convention of the Socialist party? That is what I understand to be the whole proposition.

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I am opposed to appointing a committee to spend two years on the subject, and then come in like all committees, generally speaking, that have been spending two years, and have no report. Let every one of you make yourself a special delegate to, you have two or three years from now, know here something about the questions that will come before the convention without being told things by people who do not know any thing about what they have been appointed to investigate. We have had this thing in Brooklyn and it has been a pretty sore toe, and it has been stepped on by every one, and it has been stepped on by himself and such things as that. We have sorted and did not get any pay for it. We put our money in and did not get it out again. We have had all kinds of mixed sections the party has been disorganized.

Delegated Cumble here raised a point of order which the Chair ruled not well taken.

DEL. FURMAN: I think I am speaking pretty well to the point, when I am talking about a committee of five to be appointed, which was suggested by both committees in both reports. It does not make any difference whether you appoint a committee or whether you do not, I will not get any report; it won't be up, I will come here, and they won't know anything about the subject, those delegates coming here two years from now, and years from now. As I say, we have had experience in Brooklyn, on Long Island and in many sections, and in all those districts where the co-operative movement was tried the Socialist agitation was entirely dropped in some instances, and it was organization utterly disorganized, and it was a year and a half in some place before it was restored. They had to go to work and reorganize the party over again, just through the attempt to start something among the Socialists in this country so as to keep any comparison between the conditions in this country and those in Germany. Here we have a great big country with a few Socialists together. You can not start a co-operative store unless it be a language store, where the patrons that start the co-operative will remain with each other and go to the store on account of the language spoken. But to generally neglect the starting of business for the sake of uplifting, as Comrade Gaylord says, and helping the Socialist Party, it is

a rope of sand, a mill stone around the neck of that section where you undertake it.

DEL. PREVEY (Ohio): We have had some experience in our local in the way of forming a co-operative store, and we have thrown away nearly half of our membership in the course of five months. I believe we may possibly in a year get a dividend of ten cents. The co-operative movement has no business in the Socialist movement. If individuals wish to start co-operative stores, let them do it as individuals, but not as organizations. To my mind it is like trying to perfect a little heaven inside of an eternal hell. (Applause.)

DEL. ROSEBETTER (Md.): I move to amend the Majority Report by inserting, immediately after the first line on the last page the following: "The Committee shall make a special effort to ascertain what bearing the degree of industrial development and organization in particular locally has upon the operation of co-operatives in that locality."

A point of order was made that the Majority Report was not before the house for consideration.

THE CHAIRMAN: I believe the point of order is well taken, and that the Chair probably ruled wrong in the case of Comrade Kaplan. Let us dispose of the Minority Report. I will hear the comrade from New York.

DEL. BURCKLE (N. Y.): I would like to go on record as opposed to the Majority Report, for the simple reason that I am absolutely convinced that if we are going to endorse the Majority Report it only means that we are going to absorb the great amount of energy. I am convinced that we are going to concentrate our entire energy on the political field, with all these questions, which are a moderate demands more branches of the immediate demands for the solution of the problems in society. We will be absolutely wasting our energy over these demands, whatever they may be. Therefore, I have no right to destroy, I have no right to destroy, our activity by indulging in these demands.

I would be in favor of endorsing the Minority Report. At the same time I would like to call your attention to the fact that the minority as well as the majority demands the election of a committee of five to report to you at the beginning of the next convention.

The previous question was then ordered.

DEL. LONDON (N. Y.): A point of inquiry. We have a majority report before us and the original motion of an amendment report is in the nature of an amendment to the majority report. The amendment is offered to the minority report. It is an amendment to the majority report. Thus we have six of seven different propositions before us. I ask for a ruling. I ask the Chair to rule that the majority report is the original motion and the minority report is an amendment to the majority report, and that the amendment to the minority report is an amendment to the amendment. In this way you will have the question before the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: I shall rule as I started to rule in the beginning, that the majority report is before the house, that the minority report is an amendment to an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question recurs upon the original motion to adopt the Majority Report.

DEL. AMERINGER (Okla.): I want to talk in favor of the motion.

want to say that the co-operative movement is as much a part of the great movement for the emancipation of the working class as the trade union movement or the Socialist political movement or as

sooner the working people of this country understand that, the better it will be. The co-operative movement should be investigated by every Socialist, not only by a committee. In the old country, the

co-operative movement is the strong arm of the working class. It is not a matter of starting a few little stores here and there, nor a matter of getting a few things at a few cents cheaper. No, but the co-operative movement means—

transformation of society itself, a transformation enabling the working class to own and manage their own business. That is the effect of the co-operative movement. The party in every country

Europe has taken a stand on that movement. Over in Germany, Ferdinand Lassalle was temporarily opposed to it. Frederick Engels was opposed to it. You say nothing will help except the show-

...on of the capitalist system. Well, the German movement met in Congress and sanctioned the co-operative movement. There are the facts staring you in the face. In 1899 the co-operative movement started in Hamburg. The co-operative movement started

that city was opposed to the movement, and yet they started in opposition of a great many members of the party. The result was that after starting one little store with

\$4,500, the Socialists of Hamburg have started 76 stores in that city and 36 butcher shops. The largest slaughterhouse in Hamburg is run by the co-operatives. The largest bakery is run by the co-operatives.

...operatives. The English co-operatives have gone into business, not to sell groceries alone, but the English co-operatives today are owning their own factories, and there is one factory belonging to the working class.

which sells 6,000 pairs of shoes every Y. That is a serious question. It is a little thing. Now, when our comrades say that it will take the activity comrades away from the political

Why, bless your little hearts, that like saying you can only drink wine because you cannot eat while you drink, whether you work in the co-operative movement or whether you work in the

work in the Socialist movement, or whether you are working for Socialism. (Applause.) Now, there are some facts. In every fight that we have had in England, Germany, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark, the Socialists

strong co-operative movement—in every country it was the co-operative movement which its commissary department, with its butter and salt and cheese, supported the activities.

the political strikers. (Applause.) The solutions and offered their moral support, the other fellow furnished the strike with food. There was a crowd

the largest buyers in the field, came rather and won. Back of the family of workers.

stands the commissary department

Del. Alexander (Tex.) raised a point of order against the recognition of Del. Hillquit's motion after the chair had stated what the motion was going to be. THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order. The Chair desires to report on the particular rule in Robert on there in previous question his statement of it may be a possibility of not yet opening it up on the main question, his statement lacked correctness specifically stating: That without the previous question is made and carried it applied to the entire subject. In this case the Chair said that it applied only to the pending amendments. The Chair was in sending Del. Hillquit of New York error, Deleagle Hillquit of New York borrowed my book and read it over again, and he is quite right and I was wrong, I am the only Chairman that ever admitted himself to be wrong. Now, in order to in a way put another exposition of Robert I insisted upon after which chaosm should be made, after which on either side will have an opportunity to speak various question was then or

rel. S. SADLER (Wash.). You have heard Comrade Ameringer of Oklahoma tell us in beautiful language of the wonderful success of the co-operatives in the coal mines of the world. In Scotland, in Edinburgh, co-operative stores do indeed, and millions of dollars' worth of business every year. They raise their own potatoes, their own corn, their own wool, their own flax, their own oil, and yet I want to tell you that the working class of Edinburgh suffers just as much from capitalist exploitation as do the workers in the United States where co-operation is not a success. Whenever under the capitalists' pressure the working class are able to purchase commodities cheaper, it inevitably means that their wages drop. That is a fact. Let us devote our efforts to work-
ing class in the State of Pennsylvania. We understand in that lesson there. Around Wilkes-Barre we have a good Socialist movement years ago, but due to the co-operatives reorganizing. They all went into that and to smash. Let Socialism fight away. It was going to get Socialism right away. Oh, it is a beautiful dream. It is a beautiful Utopian factories and mills and do this thing. It is almost as Utopian as the thing. I, W. W., and I think the comrades who advocate ought to go into that organization. What I have to

DEL. SMITH (Utah): What I have to say won't take long. This report does not bind the Socialist party to the extreme principles. The report by the entire committee appointed by the convention to study this subject, which

will give us the data, tell us why the co-operatives are effective, what the Scottish co-operatives and what are their good points and what are their bad points, to study the co-operatives in this country and where they are a failure give us the reasons of their failure, we are given the appointment of a committee to thoroughly study the question and report, and therefore I am in favor of the adoption of the committee's recommendation. (TWIS): It has been

recommemoration. DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): It has been suggested that a definition of the word "co-operative" be added in these words, "The committee to effect industrial development ascertain what effect industrial development and organization in any particular locality has on that locality." If there be no objection I will add this as part of the majority report.

THE CHAIRMAN: No objection is heard and it will be so ordered. The question now comes upon the adoption of the majority report.

The motion to adopt the majority report on co-operatives was then carried, and the report adopted.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONS TO THE PARTY.

TO THE PARTY

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business is the report of the Committee on Labor Organizations and their relation to the Socialist party, which was made a special order. Delegate Hartman will report for the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before making any statement for the committee on this subject, will ask that the Secretary read report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade White of Massachusetts, secretary of the committee, will read the report.*

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): I move the

The motion was seconded from all parts of the hall.

DEL. HARRIMAN (Cal.): I have twenty votes to speak on this proposition.

ty minutes. ("Question.")
(Cries of "Question.")
DEL. S. SADDLER (Wash.): You have insisted that one on each side has the right to talk. I hope you will carry it out in this case.
DEL. HARRIMAN: This is unanimous. It won't be unanimous.
A DELGATE: It won't be opposition if you speak. There will be no "Question."
(Cries of "Question.")

THE CHAIRMAN: "Question: There will be no business done until to put a motion and in order. I was this convention a member and a member could not fail to see him. I mean you would have yelled 'steampunk' at them. Now if anybody else wants to speak they will set the floor. He has five minutes."

DEL. HARRIMAN: I speak as Chair-

man of the committee. (A): No, you

man of the committee, DEL. AMERINGER (Okla.): No, you don't. I am Chairman of the committee.

DEL. HARRIMAN: Let me explain my position. Comrade Ameringer asked me to make a statement before this convention. When he asked me to make that statement I presumed I was speaking as

*For convenience, the passage referred to has been inserted in the report, Appendix E.—[Editor.]

**The report is printed in full as Appendix F.—[Editor.]

THE CHAIRMAN: I have ruled that anybody else can talk. Don't bother the convention by telling the Chairman what is so palpable, even to a delegate from Ohio.

(One of "Question.")
THE CHAIRMAN: No business will be transacted until every delegate has taken his seat and the Chair has stated the parliamentary status of the matter before the house. The situation is this: A committee reports unanimously. A motion is made to adopt. The Chair presented the motion. In the absence of a motion for the previous question or to lay upon the table the Chair recognizes a member of the convention to speak upon the motion. That member is Comrade Harman. What more do you want?

DEL. HARRIMAN (Cal.): I will take only five minutes of your time; and it is the first five minutes that I have asked for. There is a difference between us in this convention. This very demonstration is the evidence of it. We had many a long and tedious hour working over this resolution six days ago, and I have reported and the other three finally said they believed that they would sign it because it seemed as near to be got through this convention. Now this is the whole situation is this, in a nutshell that we may see the reason for our differences, there are in America two great movements, the economic movement on the one hand and the Socialist party of the United States on the other hand. They have fought separately for a quarter of a century or more. The political party has succeeded in drawing into its ranks this 600 or more only. The labor movement has a much greater number in its organization, but a quarter of a century ago fighting separately, after having failed through all this time to come together, or whatever reason, they have come

Now—there are some within the ranks of the political party that are losing heart—cheer—I knew that was true. On the other hand, the labor movement conducted its fight on the line of strikes and boycotts alone, for that quarter of a century, there are men there who, having come up against the trusts, have lost hope in the efficacy of the strike and the boycott. Thus standing separately and having lost hope, they tend toward direct action or syndicalism. Whenever a national class hope of a peaceful solution of a problem, that moment all the elements of war are present. Whenever a class or a portion of a class loses hope in its policies—loss of confidence in its policy, all the elements of war are there and the idea of direct action grows and a change takes

Now, between these two great movements comes a movement, a tendency to direct action, individual, direct action, a tendency towards syndicalism, and this thing that we have in America today is the germ of a syndicalist movement. And the longer you remain apart, the stronger will grow your syndicalist tendencies.

We have here shown that there is a tendency within the labor movement to combine the trades into federations and industrial unions, that the growth is going on there, and if the Socialist party of America comes up close to these men, their war our war, makes their

struggle—not for strategy! But because it makes that our strategy makes one common fight with both these powers in the movement you will develop a power in the American movement that will make unnecessary the development of syndicalism, movement, and development with working class party, involving both the political and the economic organizations in the solid phalanx.) That is the proposition. (Loud cheering.)

Now look at our resolutions, and read them carefully. For, comrades, what we have here is to understand each other. We know how to know each other. Remember, your who know each other. Remem-ber, you who know each other. Remem-ber, you who know each other. Remem-ber, you who know each other.

Syndicalism are just a tendency towards in your fight as are those who have a tendency toward exclusive political who have a tendency to go too far in that direction or think that all depends on that.

[illegible]

The economic fight, this is the thing that catches the conscience of the kind. It is power that your class must develop. You cannot develop power by division. We may have our theories, but your economic organization grows out of the economic and out of the struggle and the economic organizations we don't care where you are working, what your program for the struggle for life, or what you are going to do in your struggle against capitalism, this we will do with you in one united fight.

Now the one scattered literature when a man is reading, you throw a beetsteak in his mouth, after you have done that he will read all the literature you will put before him. The Socialist movement is

has been one against party, as I conceive it, but to apply it to party, and that is to apply it to philosophy, and that is to apply it to philosophy. If our theory, if our philosophy has not arisen out of the struggles of the working class, and does not enable us to conduct the economic fight for that class, then our theories and our philosophy will not avail us much and if the material concept is true, if the conception that men live by bread, and that their ideals are dependent on the bread is true, then let us apply our philosophy to every struggle, for every struggle of the working class against the capitalist class is right, from the standpoint of the working class.

DEL. HICKEY (Tex.): Comrades, the impossible has happened. I have been in the labor movement for twenty years with job Harriman, for nineteen years, eleven months, three weeks and six days we have fought, and for the first time in these twenty years we shook hands within the last two hours. I believe, comrades, that this is a remarkable illustration of the growing solidarity of the Socialist movement. I have been writing. I have been reading labor resolutions to Socialist National Conventions since Wing and Mat-chett ran in 1892, and I wish to say, as one of the committee that has struggled away into the small hours of the morning for two nights, and then for three days—I want to say, that this is the broadest and wisest, most statesmanlike and farthest reaching resolution on labor unions that has ever been taken up in a Socialist National Convention. It is a magnificent demonstration of our intellectual growth and understanding of one another. The chasm has been bridged and we are now, I believe, for the first time, going to see all broad convention shake hands upon this broad wide sweeping motion, just as the nine men represent discordant elements came together and shook hands within the past two years. I believe that it is a happy omen: it is a sign of the times. It is a sign that the light of far distant when from Portland, Maine, to San Diego, from Michigan to Florida, the entire labor movement, economic and political, will stand together unified as a one, and then we will bury capitalism.

DEL. CLIFFORD: I came to this convention as a delegate at large from Ohio, instructed to stand for the incorporation in our Declaration of Principles here, of industrial unionism, and we have incorporated that in this report of this committee. I am satisfied with it and I can return to my comrades in Ohio and tell them, "I have done your bidding and we will all rest satisfied. This problem has been a complex problem, complex for all of us. Let us now simply vote on this report, and get right down to brass tacks on the business of the convention."

Cries of "Haywood."
COMRADE HAYWOOD: I feel that this motion should pass, that this report should be unanimously adopted, and when it is adopted I feel that then I can go to the working class, to the eight million women and children, to the four million black men, to the disfranchised white men, to the white men who is disgraced by industrial depression, the men who have no votes, and I can carry to them the message of Socialism. I can urge them, and I can urge the Socialist platform, to organize their industrial power, is left to them have placed at my disposal. That is what will, when you adopt this position. My mind this is the greatest step that has ever been taken by the Socialist party of America. It unites Lawrence, Massachusetts, with San Diego, California. It unites the striking timber workers of Washington with the timber workers of Florida. It unites every worker who works with either brain or muscle on the American continent today. I have pleaded with my comrades as best I could for the recognition of the fact that Socialism was an economic movement, that we should be organized that the workers should be organized at the machine, and that they could carry on production after capitalism has been overthrown. I have likewise urged that every worker

that has a ballot should use that ballot to advance his economic interest. In Lawrence, Massachusetts, where only fifteen per cent of the workers have taken the strike, since the strike we have taken into the Socialist party as many as one hundred members at a meeting. So, as Tom Hickey has shaken hands with job Harriman, I feel that I can shake hands with every delegate in this convention and say that we have a united working class.

DEL. AMERINGER: I am really the only logical man qualified to talk on that resolution. I have been the Chairman of one committee and have inspired the ideas of the minority on the other; and I found that when the Ameringer of today met the Ameringer of seven years ago, he didn't look so bad after all.

Now, friends, the only reason why I wanted the platform—and I did before we agreed, really ask Comrade Harriman to speak for what we then thought was the majority report. The reason why I did not avail myself of the opportunity was because I thought Harriman could talk a little plainer English than I can. Not that Comrade Harriman has got any better ideas than I have—only a different way of expressing them. I am sorry that the speech I prepared and I am sorry that the speech I prepared and I am sorry that the rest of us ought not to kick, and having said this I am perfectly willing to go way down and sit back. (Laughter.)

Now, friends, we have come together on this proposition. That is out of the way. I hope that from now on we shall have a united working class, on both fields. I hope that the working class of this country will not forget in the daily struggle, its great goal, its great ideal. One of the missions of the Socialist movement is to hold out to the working class, struggling daily in shop and mine, the ultimate goal, the Co-operative of Commonwealth.

You see, friends, these two branches of the movement, the political and the economic branches of the labor movement are just like body and soul. Where you have a body without you have a soul without a body, and where you have a soul without a body, you have a Socialist political organization, that is the body. The labor movement, that is the body. We have had a labor movement that didn't have very much life in it and we have had a Socialist political movement that was very much of a spook. (Laughter.) Now, friends, as we have both together, I expect something that is very much alive in the future.

The previous question was called for. Del. Reynolds of Terre Haute moved that Del. Garrison of Indiana, the only colored delegate to the convention, be given the floor. The Chair ruled that hushman as it is one of the cardinal principles of the party that no distinction of race or color are recognized, no exception should be made in favor of Del. Garrison.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state the rule and then recognize the delegate on a question of personal privilege, the rules ever he may have to present. That after adopted by this convention are in ordered, the previous question has of the question one speaker for each side. That time has shall have five minutes. That time has

been exhausted, although they all spoke for the same side. Under the rules, the Chair will not recognize an appeal, the make any speech except by unanimous consent.

Del. Reynolds asked that the unanimous consent of the convention be given to the suggestion of hearing from Del. Garrison. No delegates objected.

THE CHAIR: There are two delegates called to put the motion in accordance with the rules adopted.

The vote comes upon the adoption of the report of the Committee on Labor Organizations.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next committee in order is the Committee on International Relations. The Chairman is relations to be read at five o'clock. No other business is in order.

DEL. SPARGO: The rules also provide that resolutions shall not be received after Wednesday at five o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention will sustain me able to vote unanimously to read. No resolutions should be received after Wednesday at five o'clock.

DEL. SPARGO: We adopted a rule that at five o'clock on each day the Chairman shall suspend the business before the convention and accept and disinform me that under another rule no resolutions are to be received after five o'clock Wednesday.

A DELEGATE: I interpret that rule as meaning that at five o'clock you call for much resolutions as the Resolutions Committee may be ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of the printed rule to which the delegate Secretary has in his records we can fairly declare that it was not adopted. I point would the delegate who raised the point to these contradictory rules. In the absence of such evidence the Chair rules that at five o'clock on each day business is suspended and resolutions are read.

DEL. SPARGO: I move you that it is in the sense of this convention that the rule is adopted, closing the receipt of resolutions on Wednesday at five o'clock.

The motion was put and declared carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Del. Barnes, Chairman, presented the following report of the committee:

RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The committee on International Relations recommends that the following resolutions be adopted:

1. That the working class of Mexico fight against the barbarous tyranny of the ruling class of that country, and work for the aid of the government of the United States to maintain their position on the backs of the workers; and whereas, The interference of foreign powers has always been for the purpose of depriving the workers of the economic

fruits of their successful revolution. Resolved, That the government of the United States shall not interfere in any way—either military or politically—in the efforts of the working class of Mexico and other Latin-speaking countries in their efforts to free itself from the oppression of the despotism now ruling these nations. And, further, that the Socialist party maintain the right of the working class of any country to carry on its struggle for complete emancipation from wage-slavery under any form of civil government.

We recommend that fraternal delegates from other countries be invited to attend our National Congress, and that as far as possible we send fraternal delegates to foreign congresses, respectively to those countries that are represented by sections affiliated with the party in this country. Further, it is recommended that when such fraternal delegates respond to invitation and a speaking tour be arranged for them, that as far as possible they be under the directions of the Socialist party.

Also that a request be made through such fraternal delegates that when speaking to this country they will get into communication with the Socialist party. And that Socialist speakers going abroad should have their speaking tour managed by the Socialist party of the country they visit.

This committee recommends that the following subjects be submitted to the International Bureau to be made a part of the Agenda of the next International Congress.

1—High Cost of Living.

2—International Labor Legislation.

3—Trusts.

Whereas, The international expansion of capitalism threatens the nations with war, and adds to the crushing burden of militarism, now resting upon the workers, therefore, in accord with the position of the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, we urge the continuous pressing of the following measures:

(a) The constant reiteration of the demand that international arbitration be made compulsory in all international disputes.

(b) Persistent and repeated proposals in the direction of ultimate complete disarmament; and, above all, as a first step, the naval armaments and abrogating the right of privateering.

(c) The demand for the abolition of secret diplomacy and the publication of all existing and future agreements between the governments of the independence of all nations and the protection from military attacks and violent suppression.

In case of war being imminent, the representatives in the countries concerned shall be bound, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, to do all they can to prevent the breaking out of the war, using for that purpose the means which appear to them to pose the least danger to the safety of the various classes and to the autonomy of the various political conditions.

J. MAHLON BARNES,
MAY WOOD SIMONS,
A. SOLOMON,
JOHN OHSHOL,
L. F. HAMMER,
Committee on Foreign Nations.

Del. Burkle of New York moved to amend the paragraph reading: "and further that the Socialist party maintain the right of the working people for complete emancipation from slavery under any form of civil government," by striking out the word "civil" in the last line, making it read "under any form of government."

Del. Wells of Washington moved to amend by striking out the reference to the high cost of living, inasmuch as the Socialist party is concerned primarily with the overthrow of capitalism.

A second amendment being seconded, the original motion was put to adopt the report of the committee as read, and decided.

THE CHAIRMAN: Tonight at eight o'clock we hold a session of this convention in this hall, when the platform will be considered. Please so inform the delegates who went out to congratulate themselves on our unanimity.

Larsen, a regular delegate from Illinois, having arrived, the Illinois dele-

EVENING

The Chairman called the convention to order at 8 p. m.

THE CHAIRMAN: Under special assignment the report of the Platform Committee will now be read.

REPORT OF THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE. Chairman C. E. Russell read the report for the committee, and prefaced with the following remarks:

THE CHAIRMAN: It gives the Platform Committee of this convention very great satisfaction to say to you that the very committee reports unanimously take it as another indication of that spirit of Socialist unity that has been of such a beautiful and attractive feature of this convention, and without any more preliminaries, I will read to you, with your permission, this report.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair awaits a motion.

DEL. HENRY (Ind.): I move its adoption as read.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): I call your attention to the fact that the editors have omitted the strong paragraph at the top of page 2, Comrade. It is the first paragraph in Comrade's impeachment of the courts, and it ought to be added. It was in DUNCAN (Mont.): There is just one sentence omitted. The whole paragraph should read:

In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts and America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the tried Scott and other decisions strengthening the slave-power before the civil war. They have been used as instruments for the suppression of the working class and for the suppression of free speech and free assembly."

DEL. BERGER: There is another mistake there. In the sixth line from the beginning it should read "hundreds of millions of dollars" instead of "millions of dollars."

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before the house is the adoption of the report of the committee as read. I want to move DEL. BARTY (Wash.): I adopt down to an amendment that we adopt the rest of the Working Program, and that the rest of the matter be taken up serially.

Recorded.

tion has had him seated in place of Carroll, alternate. It has also elected Adolph Germer to replace Branstetter, who has asked to be relieved.

The Oklahoma has decided to seat M. F. Barker, a regularly elected alternate, in place of Peifer Barker having been previously absent.

If there is no objection, the delegates will be seated. Everybody seated.

THE SECRETARY: A correction of the minutes has been handed in. The motion yesterday morning, regarding the sending of a telegram immediately to the governor of California, was made, I am informed, by Bassemmer of Ohio, and not by Sadler of Washington, as I have it in the minutes. I believe Sadler voted for it, however.

Another correction. The motion to adopt the third clause of the report of the Committee on Farmers' Program was made by Merrill of New York and not by Duff of New York, as I have it in the minutes.

The convention then adjourned to 8 p. m. of the same day.

SESSION.

DEL. HILLGUTH: I wish to offer an amendment to the political demands, page 4, 10th clause. The amendment is to one clause. Under Political Demands, demand 10, which reads:

"The abolition of the present restriction upon the amendment of the constitution so that that instrument may be amended by a majority of the States."

I move to amend the last part of it so that it shall read "by a majority of the voters in the country." A majority of the voters in the country, as against 80 or 85 per cent. We want majority amendments and not minority amendments, as Del. Russell for the committee, accepted the amendment offered by Del. Hillguth.

DEL. LE STURGEON (N. D.): I wish to offer as a substitute for Section 5 of the Industrial Demands, the following: "By the co-operative organization of the industries in the Federal penitentiaries, for the benefit of the convicts and their dependents."

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): We have a number of amendments here, each separate and distinct; do you hold, Mr. Chairman, and must pass upon them one at a time?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair holds simply that at no time will he permit more than two amendments at one time before the body. The motion before the house is the adoption of the report of the committee. The amendment by the delegate from Washington was that it apply simply to the preamble, and that the Working Program be considered serially. I suggest that the motion be made by unanimous consent to take the amendments up serially.

On motion of Del. Barnes it was voted to take up the amendments serially.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Washington moves that that report of the platform, up to where the words "Working Program" occur, be adopted, ready for the question; that?

DEL. GAYLORD (Ky.): This will go to the referendum of the party membership.

*The platform as adopted is printed in full as Appendix G, pages ————Editor.

ship, and when approved by them stands rather as a declaration of the party. We are acting, so to speak, as their clerk. I suggest it might possibly be more accurate to prepare it in a form so that it will read: "The Socialist party declares, etc." Also, to separate it from every preceding and following declaration, some date should be placed at some point on it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the delegate offer it as a motion?

DEL. GAYLORD: I offer it as a motion.

DEL. BARNES: I will state that it has always been the practice of the National state, either at the top or bottom, that it has adopted in convention, on such and such a date, and endorsed by referendum vote of the party, in such and such a date. I take part in such and such a paragraph, on the first page, it should not be limited to Republican and Democratic executives.

DEL. RUSSELL: There has been in this country for a great many years no other executive than Republican or Democratic. Consequently we could not use any other phrase. There are no legislative representatives of other parties except those that come from the Socialist party, and we would not like to restrict those. This restriction is carefully based and accurate. You cannot include any other representatives, because these are the only executives we have had.

DEL. PERKIN: We have had Populists, we have had non-partisans—

DEL. RUSSELL: Well, a non-partisan party is not a party.

DEL. HILLGUTH (Ill.): I move to amend the fifth paragraph on the first page by inserting the word "rent" after the word "extortion," so that it reads: "The farmers in every State are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for rent, freight rates and by extortion."

DEL. RUSSELL: The committee accepts the amendment.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): All that is needed now is to place at the beginning of it: "The Socialist Party of the United States declares," and at the end, "Adopted at Indianapolis," such and such a date.

A DELGATE: I would like to inquire if they made the change that was requested by a delegate from Oklahoma: I think Delegate Russell said that it was accepted. If it was, I want to move that it be changed back like it was at first: "The people are forced to work. It looks like they chose to work for a living. No one works for a living unless they are forced to do it."

DEL. RUSSELL: All right. Any way they want it.

DEL. MARGARET PREVEY (Ohio): You had an able committee and they have given the matter careful attention. I would like to know how to change the word in one portion of the paragraph. It will probably be necessary to have other paragraphs in order to harmonize other paragraphs with me. I am sure you will agree with me that it has been given careful attention by the very able committee whom you have elected for the purpose, and I believe it will be well to leave it in the form in which they have reported it to the convention. I believe it is a document that we can

be proud of and that we will be proud to hand to the people of the United States, and ask them to vote for it. Do not split the comrades.

DEL. DUNCAN (Mont.): I simply want to continue in the same vein in which Comrade Prevey has just spoken. This platform that has been brought to you are four or five different versions. There are five books of Moses and it takes a skilled scholar to go through and separate and put out who wrote what. That is what has happened to this platform. All through there has been the work of four or five different ideas and statements of the same principles. It is a very fine piece of carpentry on the part of the redactor. Only those on the committee will be able to go on and say, "I put that in," or, "I put that in." It is put together well. If you attempt this process of putting in a word here and another word there, the next thing you know you will have spoiled the continuity of the whole thing. So I hope if it is possible you will let the thing stand as it is, together again there is no knowing where we will get off.

The report of the Platform Committee adopted unanimously.

DEL. WHEELER (Pa.) read think that after the labors of the last few days we have had here, and considering that we have adopted just previous to this another great document, and are now considering what is in my estimation the greatest contribution to the Socialist literature since the Communist Manifesto. It has been said heretofore that no contributed anything to the Socialist literature of the world. It can no longer be said. This convention has done a marvelous thing: It has leaped twenty years; it has harmonized interests and opinions which any man here would have said four hours ago could not have been harmonized. I say, I had no hope that it could be done. I believed those opinions would be irreconcilable, but within a few hours they have developed so that there would seem to be no place to differ. The contents of these resolutions and we were members of this convention and were able to bury all differences and rise to this mighty occasion and carry the American Socialist movement over the most dangerous period in its existence. We are now passing through an occasion that was most critical and its outcome must terrify the capitalist class of the nation. I hope we may adopt this platform unanimously. I am sure there is no serious defect in it.

The question then came upon the adoption of the preamble, which was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to consider the following paragraphs of the man of the Committee will read the first paragraph.

DEL. KOOP (Ill.): To facilitate matters I move you that in reading these paragraphs, if there are no objections, the Chairman will declare them adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair intended so to do.

Chairman Russell read Paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4, to which no objection was raised.

NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION

DEL. HOGAN: Won't you accept this amendment that the clause may be enlarged according to your suggestion to cover every phase of the Federal workshops as well as the Federal penitentiaries.

The Secretary then read clause 6 of the bill, which reads: "The Secretary shall cause to be printed and distributed to the Federal penitentiaries, let the committee work that in." The substitute paragraph was then adopted.

The Secretary then read clause 6 as follows:
"6. Prohibiting the interstate trans-

of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines."

Paragraph 7 was then read as follows:
"7. By abolishing the profit system in Government work and substituting other

The paragraph as read was adopted

Paragraph 8 was then read as follows: "8. By establishing minimum wage scales."

The paragraph as read was adopted.
The next paragraph was then read
as follows:

“9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old age pensions, a general system of in-

insurance by the State of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by em-

employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death."

The paragraph as read was then adopted. Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the "Political

demands were then adopted, reading as follows:

1. The absolute freedom of press,

"2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the

the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate, and to nearest of kin, the present

these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry."

"3. The gradual reduction of all tariff duties, particularly those on the most important raw materials and agricultural demands was read as follows:

ers who may be dismissed by reason of redundancy on the necessities of life. The government to guarantee the re-employment of wage earners who may be dismissed by reason of redundancy on the necessities of life.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): As it appears to me this paragraph concedes the argument

of the tariff advocates that tariffs do give employment to working men, and so far as my knowledge goes that is not now

The infant industries are fat and healthy. For that reason until we have further explanation of the reasons for

the retention of this clause from the committee I move that we strike out paragraph 3.

The motion was seconded. DEL. BERGER (Wis.): We have avoided just the very thing that Comrade

business is afraid of. We state there that the Government shall guarantee re-employment of wage earners who may be

unemployed by reason of changes in tariff schedules. Now I would like to see my tariff reformer from Underwood

There is no tariff reformer in the cap-

Italics world who can touch this clause? We have taken care of an argument of that kind, Comrade Barnes.

DEL. BARNES: You don't answer my point at all.

DEL. CLIFFORD (Ohio): It seems to me the height of absurdity for the Socialist party to be monkeying with the tariff. We are not interested in high tariff, low tariff or no tariff. The workers skinned to a finish, tariff or no tariff. The Democrats and Republicans have bled about the tariff until the whole country is sick of it. But if I had my way you would not have any immediate demands at all.

DEL. IRVIN (Pa.): Clause 3 merely provides, as we have provided before when we have had the development of machinery, that the tariff on the scrap heap. In the Chicago tariff whether you believe in high tariff or low tariff, workers are put on the scrap heap. And that is not be successfully denied. And that merely covers that proposition and nothing else.

DEL. KATE SADLER: I am absolutely opposed to this notion. High tariff or no tariff, it does not concern us. I lived where we had no tariff at all and I was just as poor then as I am now under a high protective tariff. I have been just as poor under a low tariff. I don't see why we should bother with such a thing. The tariff question has fooled the working class of America long enough, just as we were fooled in England and Scotland about free trade, the open door, protection, reciprocity, and all the other fool things that the old parties have been offering us. Our delirium is absolutely opposed to all immediate demands but we will have to swallow them if you force them down our throats. But for goodness sake stop on the tariff question.

DEL. MURKIN (Pa.): We have got this very thing in our congressional district, John Dillinger, in the high priest of protection, was defeated in our district by a tariff revisionist. We have to show the fallacy of revising the tariff. Perhaps if Comrade Berger will get the statement of Senator Cox he will see that he stated on the floor of the United States Senate in his debate with Senator Aldrich that so far as the working class is concerned it doesn't make any difference whether it is high, low or in the middle. We have had this question in certain congressional districts and the man who defeated John Dillinger defeated him because the Republicans in that district had begun to say that it would be a good thing to put the tariff down. They would say to us, you stand for the same thing that Mr. Kelly stands for. Therefore, why should we vote for the Socialist when Mr. Kelly stands for exactly the same proposition. I am in favor of the notion of Comrade Barnes.

DEL. KINGLER (Pa.): I move the motion of Comrade Barnes.

DEL. IRVIN: The question was then or—

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): I very much wish that the committee had vocalized the information in advance of my statement why they favored this proposition. The gradual reduction of all tariffs in the United States, particularly those on the necessities of life; the government to guarantee the re-employment of wage earners who may be disemployed by changes in the tariff schedules. There was an argument presented by Comrade Irvin of Pennsylvania which does not apply in my

judgment, because I would not throw the adoption of free trade would throw one man out of work in America. You are providing for that which will not happen. I am providing that the Government shall re-employ those who are dismissed, and by reason of the reduction of the tariff, and I hold and believe that it can not be demonstrated that anyone will be thrown out of work, and on the contrary if we had free trade tomorrow it would not throw anybody out of work for more than a week. We are virtually conceding the argument of the tariff supporters in this very paragraph, and that is the reason I am in favor of striking it out. But while I hold to the opinion that we would not bring about disemployment by a reduction of the tariff, I know, you know and the tariff takers know that a great number of the products of America are sold in foreign countries far cheaper than they are sold to us in America. You can get a Douglas shoe in London, England, cheaper than you can here. You can get an American sewing machine in England cheaper than you can here. You can get a McCormick reaper cheaper in the City of St. Petersburg than it is sold in the city of Chicago, Chicago. In the testimony of Skirts Spahr before the Congressional Committee he admitted that he sold steel cheaper to the Russian government than he did to Uncle Sam. The removal of the tariff would not bring about non-employment but it would reduce their profits. The reduction of the tariff will not disemploy our people but will make the capitalists retrench and cut off some on their unearned increment.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I have always held that the tariff issue is not a working man's issue.

DEL. BARNES: That is what I think.

DEL. BERGER: I have always told them that there is always free trade in labor. That while our manufacturers are protected by 300 per cent in free trade instances, that there is always free trade in labor. However, we always have a condition and not a theory. We have to take a stand. In all the countries that I know of where we have a Socialist party, the Socialist party as such takes the stand for free trade. We have to take a stand for free trade. We have to take a stand in this country we face the following situation: Entire cities, entire communities have been built up by the high tariff. If there should be a sudden reduction many thousands would be thrown out of employment, and we meet this situation by this paragraph. I am not saying that the Socialist party should make free trade or high tariff an issue. We have a thousand better issues. We are simply explaining our stand on this question, and it seems to me that this clause is all right.

DEL. HILLQUIST: How are they to be re-employed?

DEL. BERGER: The government ought to give them employment. The government can do it. This does not mean that we should go out and preach free trade, we should go out and preach free trade for high tariff. It simply takes a stand on the tariff. It simply explains part I shall not on the tariff. I do not say that we never make an issue of the tariff. I do hope that you will accept this as read. The motion vote of 117 aye and 34 no adopted. A was then read as follows: "The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of

to investors by premiums or royalties." The paragraph was adopted as read. The Secretary then read Section 5 as follows:

"5. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women."

The paragraph was read by the Secretary. Section 6 was then read by the Secretary as follows:

"6. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation nationally as well as locally."

DEL. LEWIS (Ore.): I object to the proportional representation. It will only open the way for parties of reform, proportionate to the labor force and so forth. Our State legislatures will be full of all kinds of representatives. It is a dangerous proposition. Are we Socialists going to open up the field to give all kinds of freaks to have their representation in the various bodies? Proportional representation means that we are going to give life to all the parties, including clerical parties. I move to strike out proportional representation.

DEL. SMITH (Mont.): It seems to me that instead of advocating proportional representation the Socialist party ought to be standing for representation by absolute majority. The point of the compromise from Oregon is certainly well taken. If the Socialist party makes as its fundamental declaration that this is a struggle between classes, then we ought to have absolute majority representation. We ought to have either capitalist government or working class government absolutely. I approve of the amendment.

DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): It is evident that the comrades who spoke in opposition to the recommendation of the committee do not understand what they are talking about. They seem to be carried away by a few, thick phrases. This proposition is enough. That settles it. As a matter of fact the accepted position of the international Socialist movement of the world has always been in favor of proportional representation. I do not understand how any man who understands the meaning of proportional representation can stand up and oppose it. To begin with there is but one party who can really benefit by it and that is the Socialist party. The comrade from Montana says we should either have a capitalist government or a Socialist Government. If that is the case we may as well stop pitting up candidates and sending them into the legislative assemblies.

DEL. SMITH (Mont.): I said a capitalist government or a working class government.

DEL. SOLOMON: As I understand the comrades it must be either a capitalist government or a working class government. That is identical with striking a capitalist government and a Socialist government cannot conceive of a Socialist government which is not at the same time a working class government. I say coming down to this proposition I say there is but one party that can really benefit by this proposition and that is the Socialist party. You find in State after State that already the Socialist party from five to ten per cent of the total vote cast, but has no representative whatsoever in the assembly. If we had proportional representation it would be possible for the party to have representation in the assembly in proportion to the vote cast for the party candidates.

"5. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women." The paragraph as read was adopted.

"6. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation nationally as well as locally."

proportional representation. It will only open the way for parties of reform, prohibition parties, labor parties and so forth. Our State legislatures will be full of all kinds of representatives. It is a

dangerous proposition. Are we becoming going to open up the field to give all kinds of freaks to have their representative in the various bodies? Proportional representation means that we are going to give life to all the parties, including the Communist Party. I move to strike out

proportional representation. DEL. SMITH (Mont.): It seems to me that instead of advocating proportional representation the Socialist party ought to be standing for representation by absolute majority. The point of the com-

Somebody else. The point of the vote is to get the trade from Oregon is certainly well taken. If the Socialist party makes as its fundamental declaration that this is a struggle between classes, then we ought to have absolute majority representation. We ought to have either capitalist gov-

WE OUSUALLY HAVE a working class government and I approve of the amendment. It is evident. DEL. SOLOMON (N. Y.): It is evident that the comrades who spoke in opposition to the recommendation of the committee do not know what they are talking about.

ing about. They seem to be carried away by a few stock phrases. This proposition will be favorable to some reformers. That is enough. That settles it. As a matter of fact the accepted position of the international Socialist movement of the

world has always been in favor of proportional representation. I do not understand how any man who understands the meaning of proportional representation can stand up and oppose it. To begin with there is but one party who

really benefit by it and that's the Socialist party. The comrade from Montana says we should either have a capitalist government or a Socialist government. If that is the case we may well stop putting up candidates and sen-

DEL. SMITH (Mon.): I said a capitalist government or a working class government.

DEL. SOLOMON: As I understand it, comrades it must be either a capitalist

government or a working class government. That is identical with saying capitalist government or a Socialist government. I cannot conceive of a Socialist government which is not at the same time a working class government. If

coming down to this proposition I think there is but one party that can realize it, and that is the Socialist party. You find in State after State that already the Socialist party has from five to ten per cent of the vote.

vote cast, but has no representative whatsoever in the assembly. If we had proportional representation it would be possible for the party to have representation in the assembly in proportion to the vote cast for the party candidates.

DEL. HARRIMAN (Cal.): I think this proportional representation should be kept in the platform, not only as an accepted proposition of our party generally, but also as a way by which the interests of every community, the varied in themselves, may be represented. Now the dominant feeling in a community, certainly asserted itself in the modification of all the other interests upon that power. Every law passed by the capital-ist class would be modified more or less we were within their body. First, because we could uncover the graft. Second, because we are on the ground to modify vicious laws, which always yield in proportion to the power confronting them. Now this is a political party. This proportional representation enables us to take a grip, to the exact extent of our power upon the legislative bodies to which we send our members. When we are in the ascendancy then we, too, may modify our position because of the community interests that resist us. But until such time as we can bring about views that conform entirely to ours within our grasp to split the opposition in the legislative body.

DEL. FRANCH (Conn.): I am in favor of keeping proportional representation in the platform. In Connecticut we are in a peculiar position. Perhaps no other State in the Union has this institution to city with a population of 102,000, 90 per cent of those are industrial workers. That city there are 15,000 workers who voted in the last election. That is the city of Bridgeport. Under the State laws we are given two representatives for that 15,000 voters. Up in one corner of the State there is a little town by the name of Union with 87 voters. That has two representatives. It is a complete agricultural town, although we may have captured the city of Bridgeport overwhelmingly, our vote is negated by men who represent 87 voters. We are confronted by 87 consolidated railroads, who can buy 15,000 in one county we polled 16 per cent of the votes on the Socialist ticket in that county. If we capture every industrial center in that county we have only captured 7,000 voters, and the remaining 7,000 voters, and 7,000 and the 50,000 can overwhelmingly out-vote us. So I say keep it in the platform because we are going to use it whether you put it in or not but we don't want to be in contradiction with the National platform. We want to break up the form of representation that we have in our State where 87 agricultural voters have as much representation as 15,000 industrial workers. How are we going to get a majority on that? Will you tell me that from Montana?

The previous question was then ordered.

DEL. LATIMER (Minn.): I am in favor of the amendment to strike out. There seems to be some misapprehension as to what proportional representation means. The committee who just spoke presents a condition which proportional representation would help. What he needs is re-arrangement of the platform. We are not discussing that. Proportional representation is per-haps all right from a theoretical point

of view so long as the Socialist party is a minority party and wants a few of-fices; but when we get to be a majority party we shall not be interested in look-ing after the interests of the capitalists. It is the interests of the capitalists who are interested in getting control of the government. We are interested in run-ning the government in the interest of the working class. And it seems to me that while we are a minority party we are interested in the same proposition. It is true that in some communities it might land a man or two in the State Legislature. That is what happened in Illinois a few years ago. They had pro-portional representation where a man could go to the polls and vote for three men or one man. That gave a sort of a few men to the State Legislature, but they are not there today. We find that if we do not elect men occasionally to practically nothing. The thing we are interested in as a minority party is build-ing up a strong constructive organiza-tion, not to elect men occasionally to the State Legislature. It is our business as a minority party to lay foundation for getting control of the government and we are not interested in proportional rep-resentation. That is all right for the intellectual economy, but we are organized to dominate the government, we are not interested in minorities, we are interested in that great majority, the working class.

DEL. WILSON (Cal.): There is nothing whatever in this clause inconsistent with the constantly maintained international position on this question. It is simply reaffirming the demand of the in-ternational Socialist movement of the world. If the Germans at this time had proportional representation they would have a very much larger number of men in the Reichstag. We all know that there are thousands of them that are disfranchised because of this very fact that they have not proportional repre-sentation. The same is true in Belgium, and the same is true in one of the com-munes of France. One of the methods by which our comrades in England have been able to secure seats in the British House of Commons has been through what they call three-cornered fights. What is a three-cornered fight? A three-cornered fight is a fight in which the proportional representation extends at least to three elements, and I am sure that there have been at least a dozen or fifteen seats attained in the British House of Commons by this process of proportional representation in part. And in the municipal bodies of Great Britain there have been scores of such instances. I want to ask you how was it that Com-rade Seidel was elected Mayor of the city of Milwaukee if it had not been by proportional representation so far as it went. I mean that he didn't have a ma-jority of the votes of the city.

A DELEGATE: And how did he lose it?

DEL. WILSON: I am giving you the points in favor of the other. Now, all right. How did he lose it? He lost it because two of the parties joined and left him without a total majority of the city. If the Socialist party in the city council of the city of Milwaukee were represented according to the number of Socialist votes in the city of Milwaukee they would have a larger representation in the new aldermanic body than they have at the present time.

DEL. KATE SADLER: Well, what does the party in Sweden say?

DEL. WILSON: I don't recall the exact statement of the party in Sweden.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Wil-son has the floor.

DEL. KATE SADLER: He doesn't need to answer it. It was turned down in Sweden.

DEL. WILSON: Now comrades, we are in this position that all over the country in cities where they have the commensurate form of government, which has a repre-sentative element of this proportional rep-resentation, where there is an element of this proposition for the Legislature, and also in the congressional districts it is going to carry it as a political reform. I hope that the comrades will sustain the paragraph just as it is in this statement of Political Demands.

The motion to strike out the words "proportional representation" was lost, and paragraph 6, as reported, was adopted.

The Secretary read paragraph 7 as fol-lows:

"7. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President."

The paragraph as read was adopted.

DEL. FURMAN (N.Y.): I want to make a motion that we have somewhere here an opportunity, and it might as well be after the veto power is disposed of, I want to make a motion for an anti-mil-litary plank.

THE CHAIRMAN: The opportunity will be given later then read as follows:

"Paragraph 8. The abolition of the President and the Vice President by direct vote of the people."

The paragraph as read was adopted.

The Secretary then read paragraph 9:

"9. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. The national laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by referendum vote of the whole people."

DEL. SLAYTON (Pa.): I wish to offer an amendment and I want an opportunity to explain the amendment afterwards. I move to amend by striking out the words "usurped by the Supreme Court," and substituting the "absolute prevention of the Supreme Court of the United States of passing upon the constitutionality of laws."

The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. SLAYTON: For a while I have con-tended that the Supreme Court of the United States has usurped any pow-er. I have cited one or two in-stances where Congress has passed re-strictive laws and they have tried to make that appear as proof that the Su-preme Court had usurped power. The exact opposite is the fact. Why should I pass a law to prevent anybody doing something if that body had not the right to do it any way. The other day I got hold of a work upon this same subject which shows that the leaders of the Con-stitutional Convention deliberately enacted that the Supreme Court should have this power, and Alexander Hamilton stated that they should have the power to declare all laws null and void that are contrary to the manifest tenor of the Constitution. The other day I got hold of a work by Professor Baer who quotes 34 of the delegates to the Constitutional

Convention, 16 of whom definitely stated that that was their construction and hope that the Supreme Court should have the power to declare all laws null and void which were contrary to the manifest ten-or of the Constitution, and they said what they wanted was the manifest tenor to be of the Constitution. I don't think they were so careful how we use our words lest we frighten the people. The whole object was to make the Constitution a class document; and it was the fertile brain of Alexander Hamilton that devised the Supreme Court. He wanted to make sure that any law that could pass the lower House, pass the Senate and pass the President, would at least run up against the elite of Amer-ica and not pass the Supreme Court. I insist the Supreme Court has never usurped any power. Henry Clay, I be-lieve, said: "I am glad the Constitution does not say that the Supreme Court shall not do certain things because they then can act upon the implied power entrusted to them to maintain the in-tentions of the framers of that docu-ment. I hope that you will agree to wipe out these words. If you don't you won't be hurt and if you right you will be safe. Make not pass upon the Supreme Court shall laws."

DEL. WILSON (Wis.): I disagree with the comrade who has just spoken. The prop-osition to permit the Supreme Court of the United States to declare laws uncon-stitutional was presented three times in the Constitutional Convention and voted down. The first time it was exercised in this country mass meetings were held protesting against the court using that power, and in practically every State in the early history of this country where that proposition was made to give the Supreme Court that power it was voted down. In the early days of American history the people held mass meetings all over this country protesting against this usurpation of power by capitalist judges serving the interests that were backing them up. I hope that the clause as drafted by the committee will be adopted.

The motion of Delegate Slayton was lost and Section 9 was then adopted as reported.

Paragraphs 10, 11, 12 and 13 were then adopted as follows:

"10. The abolition of the present re-strictions upon the amendment of the constitution so that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in a majority of the States."

"11. The granting of the right of suf-frage in the District of Columbia, with representation in Congress and a demo-cratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs."

"12. The extension of democratic gov-ernment to all United States territory."

"13. The enactment of further meas-ures for general education and particu-larly for vocational education in useful pur-suits. The Bureau of Education to be made a department."

DEL. RUSSELL: The committee has made a slight change in the wording of paragraph 14 since I read it before. As amended by the committee it now reads:

"14. The enactment of further meas-ures for the preservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health, with such restrictions as will se-cure full liberty to all schools of prac-tice."

in fact the resolution as it comes from the committee.

The motion of Comrade Hillquit to strike out Section 16 was lost by a vote of 65 aye to 132 no.

Section 16 was then adopted as reported. Section 17 of the report was adopted.

"17. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions."

Section 18 as reported was read as follows:

"18. The free administration of justice." It was moved and seconded to strike out the word "justice" from clause 18 and insert the words "the law."

DEL. HOGAN (Ark.): I am opposed to the amendment that it seems has been accepted by a majority of the committee, for the reason that the administration of law is not always the administration of justice. I favor the original declaration of the committee that will stand for the free administration of justice. I have been practicing law 25 years, and I am familiar somewhat with the procedure in our courts, and especially the Federal courts, where I have appeared time after time, and I assure you if you accept this amendment, which I am sorry to say, the committee of which I have the honor to be a member saw fit to accept the motion to substitute the words "the law" for the word "justice" was carried.

Section 19 was then adopted as follows: "19. The calling of a convention for the revision of the Constitution of the United States."

DEL. FURMAN (N. Y.): I want to incorporate into this platform an anti-militarist plank. I think it is a question of great importance. Everyone of us knows that the militia, and everything that trails with it, is turned against the working class every time there is a conflict between the working class and the master class, and I want a distinct understanding. I want a declaration that everyone will understand that we are opposed to the militia in this country because it is always used in behalf of the capitalist class, and I want the committee to make it as strong as it can be made.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I make the point of order that the delegate has the right to call for a plank in specific terms, but not to call for a plank generally.

DEL. FURMAN: I want the committee to put the plank in there.

A DELEGATE: This should be referred to the Platform Committee to draft this particular clause.

DEL. FURMAN: That is my motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the motion to refer this to the Committee on Platform?

DEL. FURMAN: I made no motion.

DEL. REILLY (N. J.): He said he would like to have incorporated in the platform an anti-military plank, but the Secretary is not bound to consider that a motion.

DEL. STRICKLAND: I am opposed to having this so back now. The military factors introduced by Ohio and already in position has been taken care of in resso.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion of Delegate Furman is to recommit it to the committee for a plank on anti-militarism.

The motion of Del. Furman was lost.

On motion of Delegate Strickland, seconded by Delegate Berlyn, the platform as a whole was then adopted.

DEL. ZITTY (Ohio): I have tried for five minutes to offer a plank.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only question before the house was the adoption of the platform as a whole.

DEL. DUFFY (N. Y.): We have stricken out the plank on the tariff. Now the tariff is an issue.

A DELEGATE: A point of order. We settled that a while ago.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have had a very full discussion of the question of tariff.

DEL. GOEBEL: Tomorrow morning one of the most important matters coming up for consideration will be reported having up take that we be permitted to have our report taken up as the first order of business tomorrow morning. We are proposing so many changes that are vital, and that should be carefully considered, and discussed. I therefore ask that the Committee on Constitution be allowed to report the first thing tomorrow morning.

DEL. KOOP (Ill.): I move that the Committee on Constitution be the first committee to report in the morning.

The motion was carried.

The meeting then adjourned until Friday, May 17, 1912, at 10 A. M.

SIXTH DAY'S SESSION.

Del. Carey, Chairman of the previous day called the convention to order at 10 o'clock.

The following delegates were nominated and accepted for Chairman of the day: Rodriguez, Duncan, Thompson (Wis.).

The following delegates declined nomination: Hogan (Ark.), Berger (Wis.), Harpman, Strebel.

The vote resulted: Rodriguez 41, Thompson 75, Duncan 84.

Del. Duncan (Mont.) was declared elected Chairman for the day.

The following delegates accepted nomination for Vice-Chairman of the day: Edwards (Tex.), Killingsbeck, Lathner, Strickland.

The following delegates declined nomination: Clifford, Thompson (Wis.), Washhope (N. Y.).

The vote resulted: Edwards 32, Strickland 84, Lathner 19, Killingsbeck 66.

Del. Strickland (Ohio) was declared elected Vice-Chairman for the day.

The roll call of delegates and the reading of the minutes were, on motion, dispensed with.

WASHINGTON DELEGATION.

DEL. S. SADLER (Wash.): The rule adopted is that where a state has instructed its delegation to vote on a particular question, their vote shall be recorded as a unit. There are seven delegates in Washington that consider themselves bound by instructions from the state to vote against immediate demands, and they would like to be recorded.

THE SECRETARY: The Washington delegates would like to be recorded as voting against immediate demands in the platform.

DEL. MALEY (Wash.): I wish to have my name recorded there.

DEL. BOEHM (Ohio): I would like to be recorded as individually voting against immediate demands.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I regret the necessity of calling the attention of the delegates to an uncompleted sentence in the report of the Committee on Labor Organizations and their Relations to the Party. If you will recall, when I was reading this report yesterday, I came to a wording that did not seem complete. I consulted with the members of the committee, and they recognized that without the addition of the words that were in the original matter, the sentence was meaningless. I regret the necessity of doing this, but the members of the committee and the delegates will understand that there is no ulterior motive behind it. If you will just follow me I will read that paragraph. The second paragraph reads: "Political organization and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation." It says nothing, so you see it is uncompleted. It should read: "Political

organization and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation." The most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the working class movement, the Socialist Party and the unions." I move you that the words "most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the" follow after the word "working class movement" in order to complete the sentence and make it intelligible. (Seconded.)

The motion was unanimously carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Constitution, through the Chairman, Del. Hillquit, will now make its report. The report is most important, so delegates will please be in order. Comrade Hillquit has the floor.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Comrade Chairman and comrades: I believe the Chairman did not overstate the situation when he expressed the opinion that we are now coming to the most important part of our business. Our resolutions and our platform are very important, but nevertheless they remain only abstract expressions of opinion. Our Constitution will determine our work for many years to come, and every part of it will play a very important role in our practical work as soon as adopted.

Your committee, like the two preceding committees, has the pleasure of submitting to you a unanimous report, or at least one practically unanimous, for out of a hundred and odd sections of the Constitution moved an addition to one of the sections, not carried in by the other members of the committee. It all other respects and in all substantial points and features, the committee is unanimous.

We proceeded upon the assumption that our Constitution required radical revision. As it stood or as it stands today it was the Constitution adopted in 1901 upon the formation of this party, with very slight changes adopted from time to time. We found that the machinery of administration which we had provided for a party of 10,000 members or less would not fit a party of 150,000, and perhaps 200,000 or 300,000 by the time we again have an opportunity to re-examine our Constitution. We have reached a point, comrades, where the organization of the Socialist Party has tremendous tasks to perform. From an office

*Editor's Note: To make the report of the convention upon this subject intelligible to the reader the entire subject constituting Appendix F, as this differs only in minor details from the committee's report and these changes are noted in the Proceedings, the original report is not given.